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ABSTRACT

Ethnic/race relations among trustees, administrators, faculty, and professional nonfaculty who were affiliated with colleges and universities located in the Southeastern United States during the late 1970s were examined. The macroscopic theory of the split labor market (Bonacich, 1979) was modified and tested within an institutional framework. Basically, the theory suggests that race questions are really class questions in that one racial group may be identified as cheaper paid labor while the other may be identified as high priced labor. Historical perspectives on black Americans and the evolution of American higher education from 1619 to 1980 also are considered at length. A survey of three traditional black (TBI) and four traditionally white (TWI) institutions assessed such issues as the following: the historical mission of the institution, whether the goals of desegregation correlate or conflict with its historical mission, and whether there is a specific affirmative action/equal employment opportunity program at the institution. The survey data and interviews point clearly to a split in the labor market between higher and cheaper paid labor. Higher paid labor, whether they were blacks at TBIs or whites at TWIs, experienced greater job security, greater degrees of job satisfaction, and less institutional alienation than cheaper paid labor. Those in the majority more often did not support and saw little need for affirmative action/equal employment opportunity programs that would produce greater numbers of minority professional employees at their institutions. A bibliography, sample questionnaire, and letters are appended. (SW)

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INTEGRATION OF THE BLACK AND WHITE UNIVERSITY: A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION

Submitted to:

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Preface

The successful completion of a project such as this requires the coordinated efforts of a large number of highly competent persons. We would like to take this opportunity, therefore, to thank the members of our Advisory Committee:

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I. THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS

Introduction

The development of the social sciences over the past century and a half has been enormous. In particular, social scientists successfully began their examination of the social (Durkheim, in Simpson, 1963), economic (Marx and Engels, 1867), and political (Pareto, in Lopreato, 1965) institutions of many societies. These, and other seminal nineteenth century European social scientists relied heavily upon historical perspectives. Unfortunately, the systematic use of historical information prominent in these early works has gone into eclipse in the twentieth century. Furthermore, as Moore (1962:121) indicated: "As the historical perspective declines in later sociological thinking, so too does the capacity to analyze critically the existing social order."

Gross (1967) aptly noted the current state of historical and sociological writings. He has commented:

> In sociology, generalizations abound but the singular statements upon which they rest are seldom supplied. In history, singular statements abound but generalizations for summarizing them are rarely made explicit (1967:260).

Therefore, with the conscious aim of bridging the gap between the two disciplines, a sociologist and a historian have pooled their skills and have undertaken this investigation. We have labored to make this study as verbally precise, as logically coherent and as methodologically sound as possible. It is our belief that any major study of ethnic antagonism and higher education requires the researchers to be immersed in the rich historical context of the society and to utilize the constructs and methods of both history and sociology. In this paper, an attempt is made to understand the origins, history, and persistence of ethnic antagonism in human society with particular reference to the United States and its institution of higher education. The authors explicitly acknowledge the centrality, but not necessarily the abject or absolute determinism, of economic forces. The conceptual model advanced here anticipates that social stratification in industrialized polities arises out of historically specific sets of economic relationships and is reinforced by cultural value systems. Among the most salient economic forces for the understanding and prediction of inter-group relationships is the differential availability and price of labor among identifiable ethnic groups.

The authors share with Moore, what he termed Durkheim's "positivist desire to base theory on facts and on facts alone" (1962:121). The above mentioned strategy implies choosing smaller problems for the sake of firmer results and hence the intensive study of a relatively small number of matched traditionally black and traditionally white colleges

and universities constitutes the testing ground for a theory of the origins and persistence of ethnic antagonism. Thus intensive historical analysis of the case institutions and extensive historical analysis of the larger complex of American higher education of which these institutions are a part are prominent features of our research.

Recently, Turner and Singleton (1978) have noted a general shift in ethnic relations research from individualistic, ahistorical studies focused around the limited concepts of "prejudice and discrimination" and largely confined geographically to the United States toward more historical and comparative research tending to emphasize structural variables. They believed that there is too much emphasis on structuralism:

> What has been ignored is the fact that no enduring social pattern--especially one involving exploitation, extreme subordination, and periodic conflict--persists in a cultural vacumm (Turner and Singleton: 1978:1002).

The authors are responding to Turner and Singleton's (1978) attempt to stimulate sociologists, "who are not typically trained in historical methods, to use the works of historians and other social scientists, in research and theory construction (1978:1002)."

Social scientists who use the writings of professional historians must acquire at least a rudimentary sense of the nature of historical research. Gruner (1968:124 and 128) noted the "strong tendency in present day philosophy to construe any process of the acquisition of knowledge in terms of the answering of questions, the solving of problems, or the testing of hypotheses." This view, he noted, "is inadequate for describing the activity of historians as far as establishing such facts as that an event took place at a certain time or location. In short," wrote Gruner, "saying the historians test hypotheses when they establish facts is, if not outright false, at least very misleading."

"It is only by examining an extended period of time", argued Turner and Singleton, (1978:1002) "that we can understand the way cultural variables influence patterns of racial oppression." Because of our interest in incorporating cultural variables into the theory and research, we have taken a greatly extended time frame (1619-1980) for the analysis of American higher education in general and its impact on ethnic relations in particular.

Ballard (1973:42) posited a "direct connection between American higher education and the operative principles of American society." He argued that nothing reveals this direct connection more than "the record of white universities in regard to the black question over the one-hundred year time span between Emancipation and the beginning of open admission efforts in the mid-1960's." That there is <u>some</u> connection between American higher education and the operating principles of racial domination and ethnic antagonism in American society is beyond debate. The time has come to transcend this almost tautological

assertion and to develop a theoretically sound and historically precise description and explanation of the structure, magnitude and dynamics of the connection between American higher education and the history of black-white relations in the United States. Without attempting a thoroughgoing history of the position of blacks in American higher education from the colonial period to the present, we have carefully examined the record of black and white universities "in regard to the black question." Post Civil War developments guide the theoretical constructs and sociological principles outlined below.

The application of sociological principles to the study of education has a relatively short history. An examination of the institution of education by "educational sociologists" during the early parts of this century concentrated, in part, on how this institution may be used as a means of social progress (Ward, 1883; Good, 1926) or as an agency of socialization for children (Durkheim in Simpson, 1963:71; Ellwood, 1927). The analysis of the role of teacher (Waller, 1932) was an early attempt to apply sociological principles to the study of education. It was not until 1949 that Brookover articulated and delimited the scope of the sociology of education to include the application of sociological principles to the study of the institution of education. This was the first viable attempt to motivate sociologists to examine education in this manner. Brookover went on to recommend that sociologists must begin to study the educational system and its relationship to other social institutions and communities as well as the school's impact on participants.

A decade later, Gross (1959) reviewed the major contributions of sociology to the field of education. These works captured "substantive sociological contributions that teachers, supervisory personnel, school principals, or school superintendents may find of value in dealing with their work environment..." (1959:275). Such a review indicated clearly the emphasis on the kindergarden through high school environment. Indeed, an examination of texts in this field (e.g., Pavalko, 1976; Halsey and Anderson, 1961; Bell and Stubb, 1968; Parelius and Parelius, 1978) quickly revealed the plethora of articles on primary and secondary educational settings. This was suprising given the pyramidal structure of American education (Sexton, 1967) with higher education occupying the apex of the pyramid. Bell and Stubb (1968:332) keenly noted that "despite the large scale changes and the challenges posed by higher education...sociologists have been slow to conduct studies of colleges and universities."

Clark (1973: 5) has pointed out:

> It was not until the 1960's that we discern a serious sociology of higher education in the sense of a subfield with a steady flow of writing and a specialty in which students taking training, pursue it for a number of years and accept a professional label.

The sociology of higher education has generally been limited, with a few exceptions (Parsons and Platt, 1973; Bowles and Gintis, 1976), to

the study of inequality in student education (e.g., stratification--Sewell and Shaw, 1967, Cicourel and Kitsare, 1963), the study of colleges as complex organizations (Clark, 1966), or the study of the effects of the college experience on students' behaviors and attitudes (Becker et al, 1961; Newcomb, 1943, 1967). Most such studies have been inconclusive and quite limited in scope. As Bowles and Gintis (1976:viii) noted:

> The inconclusive and contradictory nature of so much of the educational discourse of the past decade may be traced to the fact that most of the participants entertained a concept of the relationship of education to economic life that was violently and naively at odds with the most basic elements of social reality. The interpretation of education has followed the logic of personal preference, dwelling on either the bright or seamy side of schools to the exclusion of an integrated and theoretically grounded treatment of its two-sided nature.

Limited attempts have been made to apply sociological principles to the study of higher education (Caplow and McGee, 1958; Lazersfeld and Theilens, 1958; Clark, 1966), and even less has been attempted in the study of faculty, administrative, and governing board personnel in this setting. This study is an attempt to overcome some of these limitations as well as our lack of knowledge about authority structures, organizational dynamics, and ethnic antagonism in contemporary American colleges and universities.

The Issues of Race or Ethnicity

Within the context of higher education, we have examined the structural, behavioral, and attitudinal variables associated with minority/majority status at a number of colleges and universities in the South. We have specifically looked at blacks and whites at traditionally white institutions and blacks and whites at traditionally black institutions. Although we have concentrated on the variable of race, race relations is only one case of the broader construct of ethnic relations. Although some (e.g. van den Berghe, 1967: 9-10) have argued for the differentiation between the constructs of race and ethnicity, where the former denotes inherited differences and the latter cultural differences, the processes of social definition (Kinloch, 1974:13), cultural and structural configurations (Luhman and Gilman, 1980: 4-6), minority/majority dynamics (Yetman and Steele, 1971), and the important outcomes of prejudice and discrimination are sufficiently similar among racial and ethnic groups to be considered simultaneously. We agree with Bonacich (1979:19) that ethnicity is the broader construct and subsumes race. Therefore, we shall typically employ the term ethnic rather than race in our discussion below.

Authority and Organizational Dynamics

Two mainstays of sociological writing and research have been the broad topics of social change and ethnic--including race--relations. Most theory texts have pointed to the early evolutionists: e.g. Comte, Spencer, and the later works of Durkheim with direct or indirect references to Marx for their contributions to the writings on social change (Coser, 1971; Martindale, 1960; and Timasheff and Theordorson, 1976). While most of these early writings are no longer taken as gospel and many of their works have been relegated to the back burners or even discarded, Dahrendorf's (1959) critique and expansion of Marx and Dahrendorf's treatment of authority and power as the underlying primary dimension of social relations has been and continues to be of considerable importance. That is; "power and authority are irreducible factors from which the social relations..." emanate. (1959:137). He went on to note that the relations of authority and the authority structure are of prime interest since; "these alone are part of social structure and therefore permit the systematic derivation of group conflicts from the organization of total societies and associations within them" (1959:166). For Dahrendorf, authority relations always included a superordinate and subordinate relationship; the superordinate element is socially expected to control. Such expectations have been attached to relatively permanent social positions and have identified spheres within which control is permissible and normatively supported and/or legally sanctioned. To summarize, "... while power is merely a factual relation, authority is a legitimate relation of domination and subjection. In this sense, authority can be described as legitimate power" (1959:166). For the emergence of social conflict and consequent social change, "conflicts are ultimately generated by relations of authority, i.e., by the differentiation of dominating and subjected groups" (1959:253-54).

The classic treatment of authority relations within an organizational structure has been Weber's work (Parsons, 1947:324-345; Miller, 1963:59-82). His basic concept of authority relations"...as the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) from a given source will be obeyed by a given group of persons," (Miller, 1963:59) and his identifying and delimiting the bases of ideal types of legitimating authority have been landmarks. The types of grounds used to legitimate authority which will be referred to in this paper are: (1) legal-rational grounds--"resting on a belief in the legality of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands;" (2) traditional grounds--"resting on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of status of exercising authority under them;" and (2) charismatic grounds--"resting on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism, or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him" (Miller, 1963:63). Although all grounds are used to varying degrees in any industrialized society and its concomitant organizational and bureaucratic structures, the legal-rational grounds are paramount

in an ongoing contemporary bureaucratic organization. All employees, whether they be the president or the groundskeeper, find that "obedience is owed to the legally established impersonal order" (Miller, 1963:63). The impersonal order is coordinated by a clearly defined hierarchy of authority and centers of power; a functional division of labor, power, and communication which enhance the realization of specific goals; relative care in substitutions of personnel (Etzioni, 1964:3); the definition of staff roles as officers, and the operation of the organization according to specified rules of procedure (Bidwell, 1965:972-1022). Such a view does not deny the importance of the grounds of tradition or charisma, but indicates the primacy of legal-rational grounds within modern industrial economies and the institutions of higher education.

Ethnic Antagonism

The second important construct of this paper is ethnic--race--relations. The typical orientation taken by the social scientist has been to emphasize the social definition of who and what constitutes a minority within any given society (Simpson and Yinger, 1965; Kramer, 1970). Working from the social definition, the typical text in sociology (Broom and Selznick, 1973:465-507; Merrill, 1969) emphasized a cultural explanation for the implementation and continuation of differential treatment--most often reflected in terms of socioeconomic status--between socially defined majority and minority groups. Few people would fail to include a cultural explanation as part of a multivariate model to explain ethnic relations. However, cultural explanations are used typically as ex post facto explanations for intergroup relations noting the nature and consequences of ethnic stratification (Noel, 1968:157), limiting themselves to social organizational structure, and emphasizing sociological, psychological, and psychohistorical experiences of minorities (see Parsons and Clark, 1966; Pettigrew, 1964; and Alvarez, 1971, respectively) without answering the basic question of the origins of ethnic antagonism.

An early attempt to look at the origins of ethnic stratification was Noel's (1968:157-74) treatment of ethnocentrism, competition and differential power. He argued cogently that when these three facets of society were present and when distinct ethnic groups were brought into sustained contact, these

> Key variables ... together constitute the necessary and sufficient basis for the emergence and initial stabilization of ethnic stratification (157).

Noel's theory was limited by its inability to identify the degree to which these variables must exist before ethnic stratification would develop and become stable in society. This theory was not able to deal successfully with changing patterns and degrees of ethnic stratification across the time dimension.

Bonacich (1972:547-559; 1975:34-51) has proposed a theory of ethnic antagonism which attempts to answer the question of the origins of this phenomenon, the changing pattern of ethnic relations, and the ethnic antagonism outcomes of exclusion or caste by using the concept of the "split labor market." For split labor market to occur, "A labor market must contain at least two groups of workers whose price of labor differs for the same work, or would differ if they did the same work" (1972 -549). "A difference in the price of labor sets in motion pressure for employers . . . to displace higher priced with cheaper labor" (1979:20). Given that a large number of groups have different labor prices--due to their resources, available information, degree of organization, migration, and employment motives, a society that needs workers and is dominated by an employer group will either import minorities, e.g., slaves, or allow "minorities" to enter the society or its economic and political component. With the possible entering of these groups: "(d)isplacement, or its threat, leads in turn to efforts on the part of high-priced labor to protect itself . . ." (1979:20). Although higher-priced labor has two choices in dealing with the possibility of displacement (either blocking access to cheap labor by political means or raising the price of cheap labor so that the labor force is quite homogeneous), the typical response to the threat of displacement is the development of "exclusion movements and the creation of ... 'caste' systems" (30). The exclusion movements may be expressed as immigration and migration controls or high-priced labor may "draw a line around a set of jobs which it occupies and controls, seeking to prevent displacement at least in those lines of work even if others are forfeited" (31).

> While the main struggle is waged between capital and high-priced labor over the former's efforts to undermine the latter, 'cheaper labor' groups become the chief victims, since their exclusion from full participation in the economy hinders their development...(20).

Therefore, with the admittance of minority groups to a society or its economic component, such groups are most often relegated to low pay and inferior status and are almost always the subordinate in authority relations.

The structure of a split labor market has three classes: (1) Employer Class-which has the aim of developing as cheap and docile a labor force as possible; (2) Higher Labor Class--well paid employees who are very threatened by the introduction and probable competition of cheaper labor into the market place; and (3) Cheaper Labor Class-those groups who charge the least for their labor. To the degree that the labor market is split along ethnic lines, "the class antagonism [between the Higher Labor and Lower Labor Classes] takes the form of ethnic antagonism" (1972:553).

> Ethnic antagonism is specifically produced by the competition that arises from a price differential. An oversupply of equal-priced labor does not produce such antagonism . . .. When one ethnic group is decidedly cheaper than another (i.e. when the labor market is split) the higher paid worker faces more than the loss of his job . . . (554).

If the Higher Labor Class is well organized and strong, it will be able to resist being displaced. Patterns of exclusion and caste systems develop which enable members of this class to maintain their privileged status, control certain jobs, and get paid at a higher wage scale than the Cheaper Labor Class. "In sum, exclusion and caste are similar reactions to a split labor market. They represent victories for higher paid labor" (1972:557).

Bonacich (1979:34-35) has recently summarized the "split labor market theory" by noting that it:

> tries to show that the 'race' question is really a class question in that racially oppressed groups (are) typically marked 'cheap labor.' I do not mean to suggest that this is the only issue involved in 'racial' oppression, but that it is an important one . . . The dynamic is a class dynamic. Race, sex, and nationality become the symbolism in which the conflict is expressed, but they are not in themselves its causes.

Recently, the work of Turner and Singleton (1978:1001-1018) has attempted to reassess "the impact of cultural values and beliefs on structured patterns of economic and political super-subordination." These authors realized that "no enduring social pattern . . . persists in a cultural vacuum" (1002). In analyzing historical black-white American data, the authors emphasized that structural variables are pre-eminent, but additional variance in ethnic relations may be accounted for by noting the way "beliefs interact with the split labor market and political conditions to influence, to at least some degree, the structure." This may be done by noting that "cultural variables such as beliefs can be systematically introduced into a structural theory" (1015). Therefore, Turner and Singleton's suggested modification of Bonacich's work assumed:

1) structural patterns in a society are highly related to economic patterns of organizations; and

2) no enduring social pattern persists unless legitimated by beliefs.

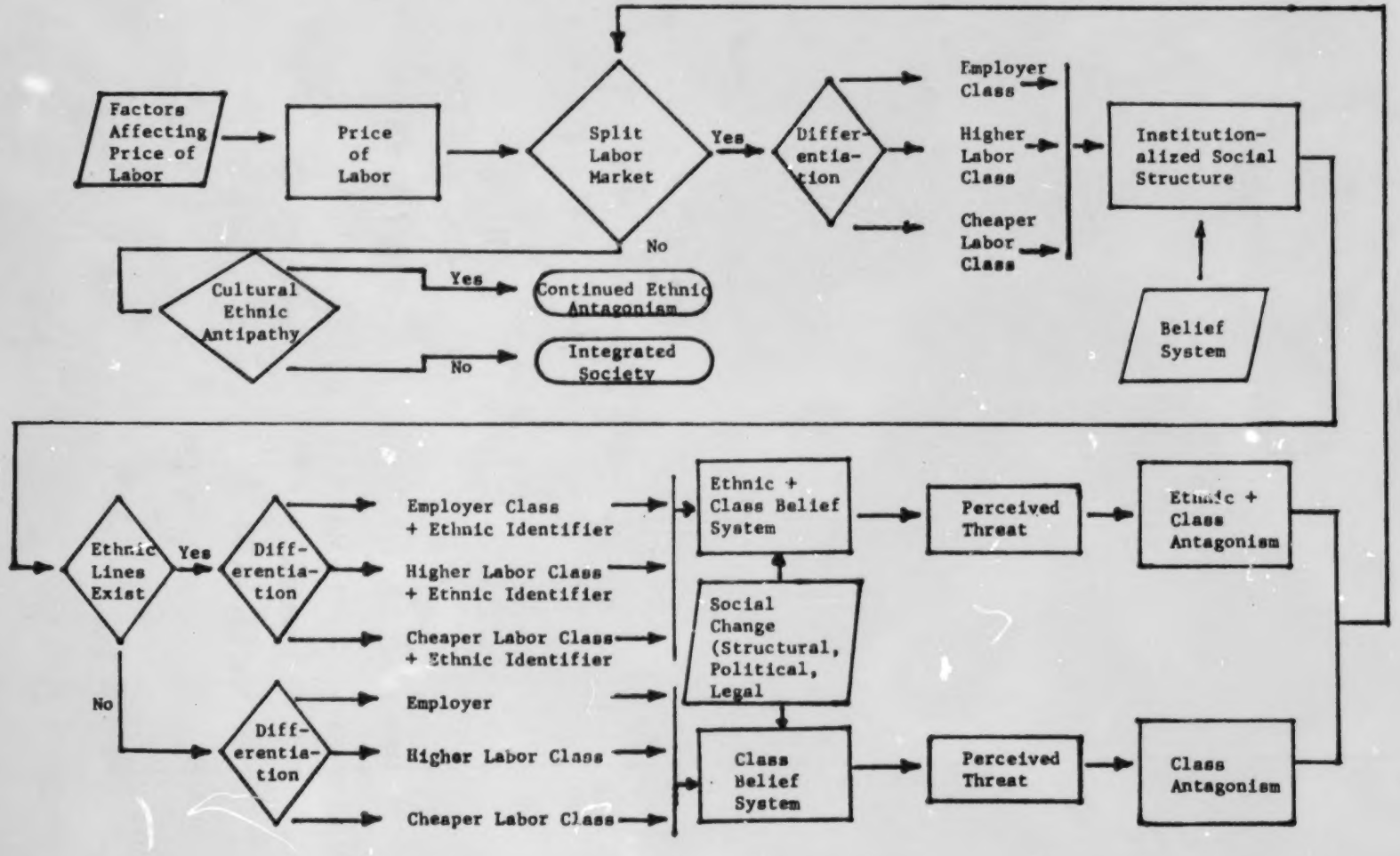
The interrelationship among these parts is summarized in Chart 1. As Chart 1 indicates the existence of a split labor market along ethnic lines may develop concomitantly with a belief system which may then be used to support and validate the existence of the structural pattern, and therefore, sets the stage for continued class and/or ethnic antagonism. Social change is produced by conflict between the classes/ethnic groups of the society and the conflict of ideas (ideals?) of the value system. Value systems may be in conflict--the ideals of democracy and pro-slavery arguments existed side-by-side during the first half of the nineteenth century. The conflict of ideals and beliefs has had an impact on the relationship among American ethnic groups and on the nature of ethnic antagonism. The impact however has been quite limited over the short run and may be seen only in analyses over the decades and centuries while ethnic antagonism (in some form) abounds over all the years of American history.

Chart 2 may be of some assistance in further explicating the relationship among the concepts of the labor market, ethnic groups, and antagonism. Where no differentiated ethnic groups exist, ethnic antagonism is not possible.

CHART 2. THE LABOR MARKET, ETHNICALLY IDENTIFIABLE GROUPS, AND ANTAGONISM

Existence of Identifiable Ethnic Groups	Labor Market	
	Not Split	Split
No	Integrated, homogeneous society--no antagonism (e.g. Phillippino Stone Age people, Navaho, Appache, Eskimo)	Class/Caste antagonism possible (e.g., the Hibro of South America, Nachey, Zulu, Ashanti)
Yes	Groups ethnically identifiable, ethnic antagonism possible (e.g. relationship between hunting gathering groups and some South Pacific Island groups)	Class/Caste/Ethnic antagonism possible (e.g. American Society)

CHART 1.1 INTERRELATIONSHIP AMONG COMPONENTS OF THE THEORETICAL MODEL



I-2-6

Where there is no split in the labor market, class or caste antagonism is not possible. In societies where ethnically identifiable groups exist, and/or where the society is stratified, some level of antagonism is possible. The existence of cultural value systems which differentiate and socially define ethnic groups relative to each other and/or the existence of material differentiation creating classes or castes are sufficient, although not necessary, foundations for antagonism. The essential necessary intervening variable for either the potential existence or the outright demonstration of antagonism is the perception of cultural and/or economic threat. These perceived threats may or may not have empirical foundations. In modern societies, the sufficient and necessary conditions of the split labor market along ethnic lines exist where ethnically identifiable groups are perceived as doing similar work for different prices, where the possibility of replacement is perceived as "real", and especially where this situation is perceived as being "unjust" or "unfair" by one or more affected groups. Therefore our examination of ethnic antagonisms in American society must incorporate description of (1) the indicators of structural social inequality, (2) the historic and current cultural value systems, and (3) an examination of the perceptions of the persons involved in the social system.

Up to this point we have been concerned with ethnic relations and antagonism as a form of class conflict. This approach is most appropriate where ethnic categories correlate substantially with class categories. We must also consider the situation where different ethnic categories exist in the same class category. That is, what are the appropriate theoretical constructs to explain intraclass ethnic antagonism?

Given at least two ethnically identifiable groups which occupy the same class strata (e.g. employer class, higher paid labor, and cheaper paid labor), ethnic antagonism occurs where: (1) ethnically identifiable groups receive different pay for similar work, (2) an ethnic group perceives its dominance of the class threatened, and (3) where this pay difference is identified as unjust. One may argue also that the perception of threat is heightened in times of scarcity, which in turn, increases the probability of intra-class ethnic conflict.

A society's structural form, value system, the perceptions of its members, and society's use of its social institutions depend heavily on the state of economic (industrial-urban-organizational) development. In the United States of America, with the rise of capitalism and complex organizations, the need to socialize waves of immigrants with different languages and cultural patterns, the development of an industrialized technology requiring a literate population which most often works in organizational settings which may be widely removed from family of orientation and community supports (e.g., church) necessitated a system of mass education. By developing such a system of public education, the employer class ensured a highly trained labor force in terms of cognitive skills, appropriate work patterns (e.g., punctuality, discipline, deference to authority), loyalty to the state, and obedience to the law (after Bowles and Gintis, 1976). At the top of the American

educational system are the thousands of colleges and universities. After a statement of purpose and hypotheses, a brief review of the development of American higher education with special attention to the development of colleges and universities for black Americans follows.

Purpose and Hypotheses

The prime purpose of this study is to examine the desegregation and integration processes in American higher education. To accomplish this goal, the split labor market conceptual framework within a socio-historic context has been used to lay the foundations for this study. We now turn attention to an examination of both traditionally black and traditionally white colleges and universities and the logical hypotheses about: (1) the interrelationship between the institutions of higher education and the economic forces, (2) the influence of the bureaucratic structures on higher colleges and universities, and (3) the correlation between the split labor market and the degree of ethnic antagonism at institutions of higher education.

Although a discussion of these issues at the macro--societal--level is straightforward, the empirical testing of these issues at the micro level--at a number of specific colleges and universities--is problematic. The authors will argue that, for those institutions surveyed, the three classes -- (1) Employer Class, (2) Higher Labor Class, and (3) Cheaper Labor Class--exist in the form of (1) governing boards (legislatures, state officials and appointees for public colleges and universities), (2) administrators, and (3) faculty, respectively. The racial distribution and composition of these classes vary by institutional heritage--traditionally white and traditionally black, which, in turn determines the racial composition of each class. See Chart 1.3.

CHART 1.3 ETHNIC STRATIFICATION BY INSTITUTIONAL TYPE

General American Society

(1) Domination by Whites
(2) Subordination of Blacks

Traditionally Black Colleges and University	Traditionally White Colleges and Universities
(1) Domination by Blacks	(1) Domination by Whites
(2) Subordination of Whites	(2) Subordination of Blacks

More specifically, within and across each of these settings, the following hypotheses-borrowing from Turner and Singleton (1978)-will be examined empirically:

I. The existence of the split labor market in American society has had and continues to have a direct impact on American higher education and the ethnic value system of those persons who are involved with higher education.

II. The greater the reward system of higher educational institutions, the greater the perceived threat of market penetration by minorities. 1/

III. The greater the perceived threat by these employees, the greater the use of caste-like systems which limit occupational choices of minorities at higher educational institutions.

IV. The greater the efforts of the threatened employees to develop and implement a caste-like system, the greater the degree that these employees hold discriminatory beliefs which support and legitimate the caste-like system and are antithetical to current affirmative action principles at these institutions of higher education.

For each of these general hypotheses, a number of specific empirical hypotheses will be tested below.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER I.

1/ For this project minorities will be defined as blacks on traditionally white campuses and whites on traditionally black campuses.

II. BLACK AMERICANS AND THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION, 1619-1980

Introduction

In this chapter, the reader will find a brief historical overview of the evolution of American higher education from colonial times to the present with special reference to Black Americans [1] as students, faculty, and administrators. Some attention will be given also to the complex and changeable relationships among academic research, popular media and government policy-makers in the rationalization of dominant policy orientations toward ethnic group relations in American life.

The entity which Parsons and Platt (1973) called the "higher education complex" contains, according to them, four "industries" or functions: 1) the general education industry, 2) the research industry "concerned with enhancing the cognitive capacity of society through adding to the cultural base on which it operates", 3) graduate training and 4) applied knowledge, the prototypes of which are law, medicine and engineering. They identify graduate training and research, taken together, as the "core sector of the university" - the sector where the primacy of cognitive rationality is highly valued:

> A prototype of cognitive rationality is the graduate school of arts and sciences and the associated institutionalization of research. (Parsons and Platt 1973:103)

Thus, in this view the research complex nestled in a graduate school of arts and sciences is "the center of gravity of academic professionalization" (Parsons and Platt 1973:110). Finally, according to Parsons and Platt, the two principal features of the fully modern American university are:

1) "that it, and with it the institutionalized cognitive complex, has become a differentiated part of a complex society and

2) that it has become upgraded in prestige and influence within the society to the point that some commentators [E.G. Bell, 1966] describe it as the central institution in the society."

The essential historical trend in the development of American higher education has been a movement from a peripheral role in the life, culture, and economy of the nation toward its center. We now turn to that story beginning with the founding of the first American colleges during the colonial period.

Table II.1 provides a periodization of the historical patterns of racial oppression in the United States from colonial times to the present and a capsule of the dominant trends in each time period for each of the following four areas: 1) structure of racial oppression, 2) dominant beliefs tending to support patterns of oppression, 3) general trends in the evolution of American higher education, and 4) specific interactions between black Americans and American higher education.

TABLE II.1 A SUMMARY OF THE STRUCTURE OF RACIAL OPPRESSION AND RACIAL BELIEFS IN AMERICAN HISTORY AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN AMERICA*

PERIOD[a]	STRUCTURE OF OPPRESSION[b]	DOMINANT BELIEFS[c]	HIGHER EDUCATION	HIGHER EDUCATION AND BLACK AMERICANS
English Heritage -1650	1. Colonial expansion 2. Indentured servant system	1. Blacks are uncivilized heathens (19:ch. 1) 2. Blackness is evil--a curse of God (19:ch. 1) 3. Blacks are bestial by nature (19:ch. 1)		
Colonial America 1651-1760	1. Slave trade 2. Institutionalization of slavery	1. Black bestiality, especially their sexual agressiveness requires control (19: ch. 3)	1. Establishment of first colleges and Universities for socially prominent groups	1. No colonial blacks are known to have attended/graduated any of these colleges during this period
Revolutionary Era 1761-1820	1. Abolition of slave trade 2. Confinement of slavery to South	1. Slavery is a "necessary evil" (19:ch. 1) 2. Blacks are ill-suited or unprepared for freedom (19:ch. 7)	1. 50 colleges established	1. Exclusion of blacks from higher education.
Ante-Bellum 1821-1860	1. Further institutionalization of slavery in face of ideological challenges and North-South economic and political competition 2. Spread of northern Jim Crow practices	1. Slavery is a "positive good" that protects the interests of masters and slaves alike (10:ch. 2; 17; 35) 2. Slavery harnesses the savage nature of blacks, civilizing them as far as possible (10:ch. 2; 17; 35) 3. The childlike dependency of blacks requires white protection (10:ch. 2; 17; 35) 4. Northern stereotype defines blacks as ignorant, lazy, and immoral (23; 35)	1. College boom (1,000 colleges) established typically private and sectarian 2. Narrow definition of academic freedom	1. Restricted enrollment to very few colleges 2. Establishment of Lincoln, Wilberforce, Cheney State
Civil War & Reconstruction 1861-1876	1. Jim Crow practices institutionalized. 2. Dismantling of Slavery 3. Reconstruction	1. Slavery morally wrong 2. Important racial differences with blacks subordinate.	1. Morrill Act (1857) gives impetus to establishing land-grant colleges. 2. Beginning of the university concept	1. Private "Missionary" colleges for blacks 2. Howard, Fisk, etc. 3. Limited access by blacks to other colleges.
Post-Reconstruction to WW I 1877-1914	1. Dismantling of Radical Reconstruction 2. Growing legalized segregation in all institutional spheres 3. Relegation of blacks to menial farm-factory occupations 4. Enforcement of segregation and relegation through white violence 5. Legalized and de facto disenfranchisement Plessy v. Ferguson	1. Black corruption in Reconstruction confirms their inherent inferiority (13:ch. 11; 21) 2. Blacks have failed to take advantage of "equal" opportunities and, in accordance with social Darvinism, should be left to find their social niche (10:pp. 175-186 and ch. 8; 13:ch. 7) 3. Without the supervision and compulsion of slavery, blacks have degenerated to their natural state, where they are lazy, prone to crime, and lust for white women (10:ch. 9; 18) 4. The traits of blacks which make them different from and inferior to whites require separation of the races (10: ch. 9; 18)	1. "Gilded Age" with new universities established 2. Increasing bureaucratization, specialization, and growth 3. Establishment of Junior Colleges	1. Second Morrill Act (1890) gives impetus to establishing colleges for blacks with tax dollars 2. Legislation requiring segregation

II-1-3

TABLE II.1 (continued)

PERIOD[a]	STRUCTURE OF OPPRESSION[b]	DOMINANT BELIEFS[c]	HIGHER EDUCATION	HIGHER EDUCATION AND BLACK AMERICANS
WWI to WWII 1914-1941	1. Northern migration of Southern blacks and their confinement to ghettos 2. Last hired and first fired policy 3. Union exclusion and confinement to low-scaled occupations 4. Segregation and disenfranchisement backed by violence, formal law, and de facto practices	1. Black inferiority is an indisputable scientific fact, backed by evolutionary theory and intelligences testing (13: ch's. 14 and 15; 26) 2. Segregationist doctrine continues to be affirmed; racial segregation is natural and instinctive, for the good of and desired by both races; blacks are permanently inferior beings necessitating segregation to control their criminality and lust and to guard against amalgation (13:ch. 11; 24:ch. 4; 26)	1. Continued growth of higher education 2. Support for the Eugenic's	1. Scientific evidence supports view of black inferiority
2nd Reconstruction 1948-1964	1. Efforts to increase opportunity without alterations of basic institutional and community patterns 2. Efforts to keep domestic tranquility through control by welfare system 3. Community and economic resistance to integration 4. Sporadic and inconsistent government pressure to decrease segregation and exclusion	1. Rejection of legal segregation (16; 34;14) 2. Blacks have been discriminated against in the past (2:ch. 6; 33: ch. 4 ; 7) 3. Blacks are not inherently inferior to whites and are capable of change (34 p. 20: 32) 4. Change is best accomplished by improving substandard schools, providing more vocational schools, and renovating black ghettos, in other words, by providing "equal opportunities (34: ch's. 3 and 4; 11: p. 1961)	1. Numbers of students attending college substantially increases 2. Greater heterogeneity among the students (G.I. Bill, etc.) 3. Universities become research oriented 4. Student protests (Greensboro sit-ins, freedom rides, SDS, etc.) 5. Junior college systems expand	1. Predominantly white colleges begin admitting blacks in substantial numbers 2. Desegregation of graduate schools
1968-present	1. Continued de facto residential segregation 2. White violence and protest of educational integration 3. Decreased political and legal efforts to enforce civil rights legislation, even in face of "affirmative action" policies	1. Blacks' inferior status is largely attributable to blacks themselves, especially their lack of motivation (9; 32; 4) 2. The pace of change in race relations has been too fast (8; 26:pp. 44-45) 3. Enough has been done--reverse discrimination and forced integration measures such as open housing laws and busing are wrong (27:p. 34; 22; 5; 12)	1. Affirmative Action/EEOC programs begin 2. Adams litigation begins 3. Expansion/growth of colleges and universities slows (baby boom over) 4. Retrenchment begins	1. Integration of historically black public higher education begins 2. "Merging" of black & white colleges-especially junior colleges.

[a] Turner and Singleton (1978) first three columns

[a] Dates correspond to the following historical events:
- 1650: roughly marks the beginning of the distinction, soon recognized in law, between indentured servitude for whites and lifetime servitude for blacks
- 1760: first serious antislavery crusade gets into full swing (See Jordan, ch. 7)
- 1820: height of debates leading to the Missouri Compromise; re-emergence of strong antislavery sentiment
- 1860: election of Lincoln; beginning of southern secession
- 1877: election of Hayes; withdrawal of federal troops from the South
- 1914: World War I
- 1941: World War II
- 1948: Truman establishes Commission on Civil Rights, issues executive order desegregating armed forces
- 1968: Assassination of Martin Luther King; publication of the Kerner Report; Election of Nixon

[b] The structure of racial oppression in America is well documented. A useful chronology of major events in black history is contained in Polski and Kaiser (1-27). Also see Franklin and Frazier.

[c] References: 1. Blauner. 2. Brink and Harris. 3. Brown v. Board of Education. 4. Campbell. 5. Current Opinion. 6. Deutsch et al. 7. Erskine (a). 8. Erskine (b). 9. Erskine (c). 10. Fredrickson. 11. Gallup. 12. Gallup Ioinion Index. 13. Gossett. 14. Greeley and Sheatsley. 15. Haller. 16. Hyman and Sheatsley. 17. Jenkins. 18. Johnson. 19. Jordan. 20. Killian. 21. Kincaid. 22. Lavine. 23. Litwack. 24. Myrdal. 25. NAACP. 26. Newby. 27. Newsweek. 28. Pettigrew (a). 29. Pettigrew (b). 30. Pettigrew (c). 31. Raab and Lipset. 32. Schuman. 33. Schwartz. 34. Sheatsley. 35. Takaki. 36. Williams (a).

The Colonial Period

Higher education in the United States of America is over three hundred fifty years old. Its history has been characterized by great variety and wide-ranging cultural impact. The New England hilltop college, the state university, the school of technology, the complex municipal college or university and the community junior college have all moved considerably closer to central roles in educating a skilled and obedient labor force for the technological society and in socializing youth to the dominant cultural values of the society. Today, the massive public and private enterprise of higher education is with little doubt inextricably linked to both the general economic forces operating in the society and to the process of sorting individuals into slots in its system of social stratification, but this has not always been the case. Handlin and Handlin (1970:6) characterized American higher education in 1770 as "small, weak and uninfluential."

During the colonial period higher education was heavily dependent upon philanthropy for its survival, fiercely sectarian, and prone towards conservatism. Between 1636 and 1769 the following nine colleges were founded: Harvard College in 1636 (Morison, 1936 and numerous other writings by the same author); the College of William and Mary in 1763 (Adams, 1887), Yale College in 1701 (Herbst, 1974 treats the first three American colleges together as schools of the Protestant Reformation); Princeton University in 1746 (Wertenbaker, 1946); Columbia College in 1754; the University of Pennsylvania in 1754 (Cheyney, 1940); Brown University in 1764 (Bronson, 1914); Rutgers University in 1766 (Demarest, 1924); and Dartmouth College in 1769 (Richardson, 1932 and for general treatment of colonial colleges founded between 1745 and 1775 see McAnear, 1955).

The founders of the colonial colleges were members of socially prominent professional groups-clergymen, merchants and magistrates. According to Curti and Nash (1965:3; see also Cowley, 1939 for European influences upon American higher education), "The higher education these leaders knew was the type that had been offered in England with few modifications since the Middle Ages. For the most part they were content with this tradition and wanted it preserved." Thus, the earliest colonial American colleges were inclined toward a conservative bias in curricula, administrative practices and patterns of philanthropy. Much of the diffusion and diversity characteristic of the American system of higher education today have roots in colonial conditions. Prominent among these factors were the sheer size of the continent to be settled, vast religious differences among the colonists, intense rivalries among the separate colonies and an apparent willingness of philanthropists in both the Old World and the New to sponsor new educational ventures (Curti and Nash, 1965:22). Although many of these colonial colleges would later seek and secure government support, only in the beginning of the College of William and Mary was state financial support a major factor.

Despite the attempts of the first American colleges to duplicate the conditions of their ancient English models, higher educational institutions in the United States early developed a peculiar relationship to their local communities which set them aside from traditional European colleges. Whereas the European academic institutions tended to be bodies of self-governing scholars, American academic institutions, almost from the start, "fell under the control of non-resident laymen... the American colleges were founded by their communities...the community leaders were reluctant to drop their reins of control" (Hofstadter and Smith, 1961:3).

Even though by the beginning of the 1770s a small but growing number of ex-Africans in the British colonies of North America had acquired basic literacy in the English language, and a few, like the poets Phillis Wheatly and Jupiter Hammon, had even had their writings published, no colonial blacks are known to have attended and graduated from any of the nine colleges founded prior to 1769. Not until the early nineteenth century would identifiable black graduates from colleges in the fledgling republic appear in the historical record.

Concommitant with the development of colonial colleges and universities, their conservative bias, reliance on philanthropy, and control by non-resident laymen, colonial America institutionalized slavery and expanded the slave trade. The support of slavery by the belief that blacks were sub-human, aggressive, and in need of strict control set the stage for black exclusion from higher educational institutions.

The Antebellum College Boom, 1769-1865

Following the colonial period the number of American colleges gradually began to increase. The American Revolution and the creation of a federal union raised pressing new questions about the institutional setting of American higher education. Should higher education remain under the control of the religious sects as it had largely been before the Revolution? Should the separate states take an expanded financial role in the sponsorship of higher education? Or should there be a federally funded national university? As Hofstadter and Smith noted in their documentary history of American higher education, "The period from the close of the Revolution through the first two decades of the nineteenth century was one of searching and reconsideration in educational theory " (1961:148).

By 1794, fifteen (15) new colleges had been added to the nine holdovers from the colonial period making a total of 24 colleges in the United States. By 1830 the number of permanent American colleges had risen to 49. Then, in the three decades between 1830 and the outbreak of the Civil War American higher education experienced what Curti and Nash (1965:42-59) termed "The College Boom." During the period (1830-1860), 133 new permanent colleges were established. All of the above mentioned figures include only those institutions founded during that period which were still in existence by 1928 (the end-date for inclusion in Donald G. Tewksbury's The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War, New York, 1932, Columbia University Teachers College Contributions to Education No. 543). If the colleges founded before the Civil War which failed to survive until 1928 were included, the college boom would reach staggering proportions with nearly one thousand colleges and universities founded in the United States during the antebellum period, including 3 colleges now listed among the historically black colleges. Tewksbury (1932) counted 516 foundings for sixteen states and calculated a "mortality rate" of 81 percent. In other words, approximately four out of every five colleges founded before the Civil War had closed their doors by 1928. The most common source of the impulse to found new colleges between 1770 and 1870 was "the pervasive sectarianism of American religious life" (Handlin and Handlin, 1970:25). The permanent reality of religious diversity meant, wrote Brubaker and Rudy (1976:59) that "educational localism was sure to run riot, and it did." The founders and faculty of most of the colleges founded between the American Revolution and the Civil War were characterized by Curti and Nash as "usually clergymen of a particular denomination who circulated a subscription list for the means with which to build their college." (1965:44). Among the most pressing problems facing these sectarian institutions was obtaining a sound financial underpinning. Some colleges succeeded in attracting a single wealthy benefactor (after whom they were usually renamed) or obtaining money from philanthropists abroad. Others collected large subscriptions from denominational supporters and members of the local community. Still others were taken under the patronage of a state or city. Colleges that managed to obtain one or another of these supports survived. Those that did not folded.

The earliest recorded efforts of blacks to obtain higher education within the United States occurred within the framework of a belief system which rationalized black subordination and supported a pattern of nearly total exclusion from the country's colleges and universities. The remainder of this section traces the struggle of Black Americans for higher education during the years before the end of the Civil War.

The struggle of Black Americans for higher education has had a long and often tortuous history which needs to be considered in any study of racial integration in American higher education. Several writers have attempted to capture this history by dividing it into meaningful chronological periods. Alan Pifer of the Carnegie Corporation for example, subdivided the history of the higher education of blacks in the United States into the following five periods: 1) 1619-1863, 2) 1863-1896, 3) 1896-1933, 4) 1933-1965, 5) (by implication) 1965-1973. Although the periodization offered by others (see, for example Holmes, 1934 and Bowles and Decosta, 1971) differs in particulars, the essential watersheds remain clear: The Civil War (1861-1869), the rise of legalized "Jim Crow" style segregation epitomized by the "separate but equal" doctrine promulgated by the United States Supreme Court in the case of Plessy V. Ferguson (1896), the transition from the Depression to the post World War Two era, the beginning employment of white faculty at state supported traditionally black institutions. Before the founding in 1854 of Ashmun Institute, the forerunner of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, the handful of Black American college graduates had received their training at predominantly white institutions. Nevertheless, the idea of a college for blacks was not new. As early as 1827 Samuel Cornish (co-founder with John Russwarm of the first black newspaper in the United States, Freedom's Journal) had proposed the idea of a black college. Twenty years later a committee of the National Negro Convention re-examined Cornish's idea. Among the arguments against the Negro College idea was the assertion that "there are now colleges and academies where they can be admitted on equal terms with white students, and that, therefore, the necessity did not exist " (The North Star, December 3, 1847 as quoted in West, 1972: 37). In the light of our interest in applying the concepts of labor market analysis to the academic marketplace it is significant that one of the arguments offered in favor of establishing a Negro college dealt with jobs for black professors. It was felt "that a field would hereby be opened for the employment of those qualified for professorships in the various departments."

At a meeting on October 5, 1853 "considering how extremely difficult it is for colored youth to obtain a liberal education in this land, arising from the want of schools for that purpose, and their exclusion from all regular institutions of learning of a higher grade," the Presbytery of New Castle, Pennsylvania resolved to found an institution for the training of black youth with the principal aim of preparing them for missionary work in Africa. Ashmun Institute, named for Jehudi Ashmun, actually began offering instruction in January, 1857 (Tenth Annual Catalogue of Lincoln University, 1867: 20,21, as quoted in West, 1972:55-56).

On August 30, 1856, three years after the establishment of Ashmun Institute, The Wilberforce University was incorporated in Ohio. Wilberforce University had its origins in the desire of ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church to improve the condition of some thirty-thousand blacks in Ohio and in other free states, (see Daniel A. Payne "The History of the Origin and Development of Wilberforce University," in David Smith, Biography of Rev. David Smith Xenia, Ohio: Xenia Gazette Office, 1881 especially pp. 100, 101 and 109). The movement to establish Wilberforce University was launched by a committee resolution, dated August 9, 1853, which read in part:

> That we recommend that an attempt be made, on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to cooperate with the African Methodist Episcopal Church in promoting the intellectual and religious improvement of the colored people.

It should be pointed out also that the institution which, many years later, became Cheney State College in Pennsylvania, traces its origins to a training institution founded in 1834.

During the antebellum college boom 28 Black Americans received undergraduate degrees. There is a mild historiographical controversy over precisely when the first Black American was awarded an undergraduate degree by an American college, but it is generally agreed that in 1826 at least two blacks received college degrees from predominantly white colleges. In that year John Russwarm graduated from Bowdoin College in Maine and Edward A. Jones from Amherst. In the year after his graduation from Bowdoin, Russwarm co-founded (with Samuel Cornish) Freedom's Journal, generally regarded as the first black newspaper published in the United States.

John Sykes Fayette graduated from Western Reserve College in 1836. In a letter to Professor Benjamin Quarles, Mrs. Ruth E. Helmuth, University Archivist, wrote:

> There is nothing in the records that would indicate his race but I know from oral tradition that he was black. (Quarles, 1974:203).

The Rev. William Howard Day, an A.M.E. Zion minister and editor of two black newspapers in Cleveland, Ohio, had graduated from Oberlin College sometime before his marriage in 1852 to Lucy Stanton, a black female graduate of Oberlin. Feminist editor Lucy Stone (Editor of the Lily) graduated in the same Oberlin class as William Day. (Boulware, 1978 123-125)

At least one of the 28 black collegians, Jonathon C. Gibbs, graduated from Dartmouth College in 1852. The son of free parents, one of whom was a Methodist minister, Gibbs entered Dartmouth College at the age of 21 with the assistance of the Presbyterian Assembly. After studying such subjects as Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Rhetoric, Morals and Natural Philosophy at Dartmouth, Gibbs went on to become Florida's

first black Secretary of State where, according to Richardson (1964: 363), he was "The best example of a Florida Negro who disproves the stereotyped freedman politician...[he was]...one of the best educated and most cultivated persons holding a political office."

Apparently black students were enrolled at the College of Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts before the Civil War. At least we know that a black student, James A. Healy, was the valedictorian of Holy Cross' first graduating class in 1849. The son of Michael Healy, an Irish immigrant and Eliza, a woman owned as a slave by Healy, James Healy later became Bishop of the Diocese of Portland (Maine). In the following year (1850) his brother Patrick also graduated from Holy Cross. Patrick Healy is probably better known to modern students of black history than his brother because he later became president of Georgetown University (Beales and Burkett, 1978).

A slight trend toward equalitarianism can be seen beginning in the 1830's for both blacks and women. As a rule this sentiment was manifested in the founding of separate schools for blacks of all sexes and separate schools for females of the white persuasion.

The first American college founded exclusively for white females was Wesleyan Academy opened in Macon, Georgia in 1836. Mary Lyon founded Mount Holyoke College at South Hadley Massachusetts in 1937. Vassar was founded in 1867; Wellesley College and Hunter College in 1870 and Smith College in 1871. Bona fide colleges for blacks were founded in the 1850s (Wilberforce and Ashmun; Cheney State earlier). The most notable exception to this pattern was Oberlin College, which, within 2 years of its founding, broke both the race and the sex barriers in American higher education.

A number of the 28 black Americans who received undergraduate degrees before the Civil War received them from Oberlin. John Mercer Langston, for example, was an 1853 graduate of Oberlin who was later elected to the United States Congress (Langston, 1894). The reputation of Oberlin for integrated education since 1837, when combined with its avowedly anti-slavery stance during the antebellum period, left some observers with the impression that at any given time a high proportion of Oberlin's student body might be black. According to Bigglestone, (1971:198-219), however, Oberlin's black enrollment rarely averaged more than five percent of the total student body between 1865 and 1940 and, furthermore, the school generally declined to become involved in helping its black students overcome racial discrimination in the surrounding community.

Although as Patricia Cayo Sexton (1967:54) suggests, higher education may still be "the guardian of the schools and the society's stratification system", American colleges were much more completely the exclusive reserve of the wealthy before the Civil War than they are now. The "cow colleges" or agricultural schools mandated by the Morrill Act of 1862 became the seedlings for the massive growth of higher education in the United States.

Justin Morrill introduced a bill to Congress in 1857 calling for federal aid to agricultural and mechanical colleges. "Sectional differences prevented final approval until 1862. Then, with the southern delegates absent due to the Civil War, Congress passed the Morrill Act and President Lincoln signed it." The passage of the Morrill Act created land-grant colleges and gave a powerful push to the movement for state universities which blossomed after the Civil War (Ross, 1942).

Expansion and the Development of the Modern American University Concept and Structure 1865-1917

As Parsons and Platt (1973:4-5) point out, "at the beginning of the Civil War there was no such thing as an American University in the European sense; there were only colleges, a large number of them." It was shortly after the Civil War that an innovative process in American higher education, centered in private institutions, began the trend toward the development of a truly modern university concept and organization in the United States. Unique to the American pattern, the undergraduate college was incorporated into, not superceded by, the university concept.

Following the Civil War the founding of colleges and universities continued apace as the urban-industrial economy reached what Rostow (1963:17-58) has called the "take-off point". Higher education assumed a more important role in the economy and in the culture at large. Between 1850 and 1900, 453 new colleges were founded. One gross indicator of the mushrooming importance of colleges and universities not only in meeting the manpower needs of a rapidly industrializing economy but also in socializing young people is the fact that between 1890 and 1925 college enrollment grew 4.7 times as fast as the population (Bartlett, 1926:2 cited in Rudolph 1965:442).

It is generally acknowledged today that much wealth and power is concentrated in the hands of college and university trustees. These institutions, like other pivotal institutions in American society, are usually led by the members of the employer class which stands to profit both from the intellectual and physical labor of others and whose survival is inextricably bound with its continuing control of the nation's principal institutions. The university is not the least significant of these major institutions. The roots of the current patterns in higher education lie in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Among the hallmarks of this period were the massive investments made by the "robber barons" in higher education. Brand-new and often massively endowed universities like Stanford, Johns Hopkins and the University of Chicago were built from scratch during the period of rapid industrialization which historians call the gilded age (conventionally 1876-1896). In addition, this phase of American higher education was characterized by the rise of the elective system, increased specialization and a greater division of labor. More importantly, from a theoretical standpoint, the expansion of higher education in the late nineteenth century was accompanied by the increasing bureaucratization of these institutions with the now familiar departmental organization crystallizing in the 1890s. Veysey (1965:267) identified the five major components of this "structural transformation" as follows:

1) increasing presidential authority

2) the introduction of bureaucratic procedures

3) new function of the deanship

4) the appearance of the academic department with its recognized chairman

5) the creation of a calculated scale of faculty rank

After 1885 the number of students attending major institutions began to increase steadily (Marx, 1909: 64-67). Higher education shared in the general climate of growth which pervaded the gilded age and by the turn of the century, as the United States became the world's leading industrial producer, "The university had achieved a stable place among American institutions." (Veysey, 1965:265). Concommittant with what Veysey (1965:264) called "The Academic Boom of the Early Nineties," university presidents and trustees not only organized the internal structure of their institutions in a businesslike fashion, but also, like their business counterparts, sought to pay their faculties as little as the "market price" demanded (Veysey, 1965:352).

The governance of institutions of higher learning, in the hands of laymen almost from their colonial beginnings, became increasingly concentrated in the hands of men of affairs, prestige and wealth rather than professional educators. Even if such a mode of governance was, as Rudolph (1965:173) put it, "a child of necessity," mothered by the unique qualities of the American environment, the domination of college governing boards by members of the business elite is nonetheless potent.

In an address given before the Western College Association (quoted in Caplow and McGee, 1961:15), Cowley called the pattern of government followed in American universities "the Italian plan." According to him the model was transmitted to the United States indirectly via such Scottish institutions as the University of Edinburgh: "This scheme gave all the governing power to boards of trustees, professors being in fact hired men."

The rise of the new-style university carried with it a decline in the paternalistic methods which had characterized the older breed of college presidents. "The strong president of the new academic age," wrote Veysey (1965:304), "more often welcomed and used bureaucratic methods." The trend of the 1890s toward the bureaucratization of higher education continued full strength throughout the decade:

> By 1900 it could be said that administration had developed something like its full measure of force in American higher education (Veysey, 1965:306).

An event often cited by historians of higher education as a symbol of the coming of age of the bureaucratic model of administration is the appearance in 1900 of a publication which claimed to be the first book devoted entirely to academic management - C. G. Thwing's College Administration.

Thus,between 1860 and the early decades of the present century American higher education had been so th. roughly transformed that Mather hardly exaggerated when he said:

> The faculty are employees; the trustees are employers; the president is the superintendant of the plant (Rudolph, 1965: 172)

The employer class in institutions of higher learning has been more extensively described as follows (Rudolph, 1965:173):

> On the whole, the sound, conservative men of wealth who came to dominate the college governing boards were pillars of the better class, and while their duties permitted them to perform a social responsibility, their authority also enabled them to keep the colleges true to the interests and prejudices of the classes from which they were drawn.

An informal nationwide poll of college and university trustees conducted near the turn of the century found that most of them were politically conservative and that they expected their employees to reflect a similar outlook (Shibley 1900:295-296).

Some earlier historians of education, most notably Metzger (1965), have drawn on the theories of Weber when they argued that bureaucratic rationalization of universities was a general occurrence in large scale institutions in Western cultures and not simply a mere borrowing of business models. Ironically, one response by the "hired men" to what was perceived as bureaucratic "over-structuring" was often advocacy of further structuring or the development of new organizational devices, like the American Association of University Professors (founded in 1915), aimed at protecting the interests of the faculty. These include the seeking of tenure regulations and the implementation of salary as well as the formation of new voluntary associations of professionals which in turn became bureaucratized themselves if they were to meet the needs of their professional members.

Simultaneously with the late nineteenth century economic and educational boom rose the accreditation movement. Beginning around 1890 there was a growing movement to set standards in, if not to standardize, American higher education. The Association of American Universities was founded in 1900 for "the avowed purpose of establishing a similar uniformity of standards at the level of the graduate school" (Veysey, 1965:313). The accreditation movement had become a major force in higher education by 1901 and had virtually triumphed by 1913 (see Donaldson, 1953:274-276).

The origins of the junior college movement are also rooted in the period between the end of the Civil War and the outbreak of the First World War (1914). Among the leaders of this movement were Henry P. Tappan, President of the University of Minnesota and William Rainey Harper, the first president of the University of Chicago. Tappan, feeling the need for greater specialization of functions, believed that universities should stress advanced graduate and professional training (Hilway, 1958:34). According to Bogue (1960:10) it was Harper who coined the term "junior college" and influenced the founding of Joliet Junior College in Illinois in 1901. Joliet Junior College is the oldest junior college in existence in 1960.

Although frequently invisible in the academic literature on higher education and in the American consciousness 2/ colleges founded for blacks were, nonetheless, part of these larger trends in American higher education. It was during the period from the end of the Civil War to the passage of the Second Morril Act in 1890 that the largest number of historically black private higher institutions was founded. According to Bowles and DeCosta (1971:29-30), 40 (74.07%) of the 54 four-year historically black private colleges still in existence in 1970 were founded during this period.

As we have already seen, the earliest black proponents of the idea of a college founded specifically for Negroes consciously hoped that these colleges would provide, among other things, jobs for blacks desiring to pursue careers as college teachers. The metaphor of the marketplace was explicit. Bullock (1967:31), the leading historian of black education in the South, used the language of supply and demand in his description of the beginnings of higher education for Blacks in the South during Reconstruction:

> It was not long before the need for higher education among the freedmen became evident. It became obvious, too, that the <u>supply</u> [our emphasis] of Northern teachers was inadequate and that even the number then available could not be expected to last. Therefore the need for types of schools in which Negro teachers could be trained became apparent.

Therefore, within less than five years after the launching of the educational program for freedmen, benevolent societies began to build a system of private colleges and universities which, as Bullock (1967:31) stated, "were to mature and become the Negro American's main avenue to higher education and more natural emancipation." The American Missionary Association, affiliated with the Congregationalist Church, founded Fisk, Talladega, Hampton and Atlanta University. The American Baptist Home Mission Society was involved in the founding of Virginia Union University, Morehouse, and Shaw University. The Methodist Episcopal Church helped found Walden (later Meharry Medical College) and Claflin. The following seven private black colleges had established <u>bona fide</u> college departments by or before 1872: Atlanta, founded in 1865; Fisk, founded in 1866; Howard, founded in 1866; Leland, founded in 1870;

Lincoln, founded as Ashmun Institute in 1853; Shaw, founded in 1865 and Wilberforce, founded in 1856.

When he graduated from Fisk University in 1875, James Burrus, also became the first Black American to receive a B.A. degree from an institution located in the South (See the New York Times, July 2, 1927 and January 3, 1929).

From its conception at an Assembly of the Monthly Concern of Prayer for Missions at Washington D.C.'s First Congregational Church on November 18, 1866 Howard University was an institution which opened its doors to members of all races and of both sexes. The first students in Howard's normal and preparatory department when it opened on May 1, 1867 were four white female offspring of the institution's trustees (Bullock, 1967:34). Howard's first president was General O. O. Howard (See McFeely, 1968).

Fisk, Howard, Lincoln and Wilberforce had graduated a combined total of 68 students before 1876, the year which conventially marks the end of Reconstruction.

Publicly-supported separate higher educational institutions for blacks generally began after the end of Reconstruction with the bulk of today's public black colleges being founded between 1876 and 1914 (see, for example,Neyland's description of state-supported higher education for blacks in Florida, 1964:105-122).

The production of college graduates, primarily by the private black institutions increased rapidly throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. DuBois and Dill (1910;50-51) estimated that by 1895 the traditionally black colleges had produced approximately 1,151 college graduates.

During Reconstruction as Smith (1975, citing Harlan 1962) has pointed out, at least two Southern states, Louisiana in 1867 and South Carolina in 1868, established provisions in their state constitutions prohibiting racially separate schools. The University of South Carolina was desegregated for a brief while during the 1870s having both black students and professors. The key factors in making this situation possible in the Deep South, even if only for a brief while, included: 1) constitutional mandates (= rational-legal authority); 2) a committed executive (= bureaucratic committment); 3) active black leadership and 4) active black political participation.

A desire on the part of some white Southern denominations to educate black students did not necessarily go hand-in-hand with a desire or a willingness to employ black professors. The case of traditionally black Paine College in Augusta, Georgia is instructive on this point. Paine Institute, founded in 1882, to educate black students, was related both to the Methodists Episcopal Church, South and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, a black denomination created in 1870 through what has been termed a "friendly separation" from the MEC,

South (See Meier, 1963). In the year after its founding the school came under attack in the whitechurch press for its educational efforts on behalf of blacks. It was not until 1888, six years after its founding, that Paine Institute hired a black faculty member over outspoken opposition from some elements in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (see Clary, 1971:22-33).

In terms of employment opportunities white college teachers had for some time traditionally enjoyed greater opportunities to teach at colleges for blacks in the South than black educators had of teaching at any non-black institution in any region of the country. Since southern state legislatures were better able to enforce legal segregation in the publicly-funded institutions, whose purse strings they controlled directly, those white professors employed at black colleges tended to be concentrated in the private and sectarian colleges and to be almost totally absent from the state colleges for Negroes until the mid 1960s. But following the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 previously all-black colleges began receiving a trickle of white students. Bullock (1967:265) believed that "Wherever student desegregation has occurred in previously all-Negro colleges, faculty desegregation has accompanied it."

In the meantime the number of blacks receiving college diplomas from predominantly white northern institutions continued at a slow pace. Between 1865 and 1895 about 194 blacks graduated from 53 different northern colleges. The lion's share of these black college graduates, some 38.6 percent, received their degrees from one college - Oberlin.

Although institutions established under the provisions of the Morrill Act (U.S. Statutes at Large XXXX, 1861-1862 37th Congress, 2nd Session) were intended to serve all the citizens, few of the states interpreted the legislation to mean that they should establish land grant colleges for blacks. By 1890 only four of the 46 states which had established colleges pursuant to the Morrill Act of 1862 had created both white and black land grant colleges. Those states were: Mississippi, Kentucky, Virginia (by subsidizing a pre-existing private college) and South Carolina (also by subsidizing a private college which was permissible under the terms of the act). This is not to say that blacks were being admitted on an equitable basis, or even being admitted at all in the 42 states which had not established separate black and white land grant colleges. It was partly in deference to the emerging patterns of Jim Crow style racial segregation (and partly to underscore the intention of the federal government to provide for all its citizens, even under local customs of segregation) that the Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that states either admit Negroes to white land-grant institutions or establish such institutions for Negroes. Within ten years after the passage of the Second Morrill Act all of the seventeen "separate" states had organized land-grant colleges for Negroes or arranged with another black institution to carry out land-grant programs. None of the land-grant institutions developed for blacks under the terms of the Second Morrill Act of 1890 offered genuine college-level work before 1916. Thus, according to Bowles and DeCosta (1971:32), seventeen of the thirty-four historically black public colleges in existence in 1970 were founded before 1890 and seventeen after 1890.

Even before the controversial presidential election of 1876, legalized segregation was beginning to crystallize. The education of Black Americans began to be bound by what Bullock (1967:66) termed "the chain of legal containment"; a chain whose links were forged as early as 1874. It should be mentioned that historian Rayford W. Logan (1954 and 1965) felt that the public image and economic status of black Americans reached "the nadir" during the period from the end of political Reconstruction to the beginning of the twentieth century.

With the establishment in 1896 of the judicial fiction of "separate but equal" in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson, Black Americans seeking a college education had 3 options available to them: 1) enroll in one of a handful of northern colleges which accepted black students and face extreme social isolation from their white fellow students or 2) enroll in one of a growing number of traditionally black public and private colleges which, generally, were located in the Southern and Border states, (3) leave the country to seek higher education.

By 1910, 693 blacks had graduated from white colleges with most of them receiving their degrees after 1890. Approximately 80 blacks graduated from white colleges between 1826 and 1890 and 50 of these individuals or 62.5 percent had graduated from Oberlin alone! About 613 of the 693 blacks who received undergraduate degrees from American colleges by 1910 were awarded their diplomas after 1890. By 1910, 14 blacks had graduated from Dartmouth, 41 from Harvard, 29 from the University of Pennsylvania, 60 from the University of Kansas, 37 from Yale and 2 from the City College of New York (Du Bois and Dill 1910).

From 1896 through 1933 aspiring black collegians faced nearly total exclusion from the historically white colleges and universities in the Southern and border states.

The situation was even worse for black college graduates seeking careers as teachers and administrators in higher education. Possibly the briefest and most useful summary of the participation of blacks in "integrated college teaching" was provided by Moss (1958). He posited the following four distinct historical periods in the movement of blacks into full-time continuing positions at traditionally white colleges and universities: 1) before 1900 - almost total exclusion; 2) 1900-1940-"in which Negroes were being admitted in increasing numbers to teaching posts in Negro colleges and to some administrative positions in these same colleges, but, in the main excluded from teaching in predominantly white colleges"; 3) 1940-1946-"When a few Negroes were being accepted on an experimental basis into the faculties of some selected white colleges," and 4) since 1946 characterized by "fuller integration of Negroes into permanent positions in non-segregated institutions, but this appears to be accompanied by almost total exclusion from any significant administrative posts " (Moss, 1958:452).

Probably the first college anywhere in the United States to appoint a black faculty member was the Baptist-related New York Central College at McGrawville. In the 1830's New York Central College hired Charles Reason and several other black faculty. New York Central College and the Presbyterian-related Oneida Institute at Whitesboro, New York pioneered not only in the education and hiring of blacks but also in work-study and the education of women. (For further detail see Mabee) Otherwise, throughout the entire nineteenth century almost all white institutions of higher education declined to hire black faculty members. The noted exceptions can be literally counted on the fingers of the hand. In 1873, as mentioned earlier, Father Patrick Healy , S.J. became president of Georgetown University after rising through the ranks from instructor. Richard T. Greener, one of Harvard's first black graduates, taught classics at the University of South Carolina between 1873 and 1877 during that state university's brief experiment in bi-racialism.

In the second half of the nineteenth century black faculty members on the faculties of predominantly white colleges were few and far between, particularly at the more prestigious institutions. One notable exception was the appointment of Dr. George Grant as instructor at Harvard's School of Dentistry in 1884. In the twentieth century another black medical person, William H. Hinton, served on the staff of the Harvard Medical School for a number of years never being appointed to a rank higher than instructor until 1949 when, the year before his retirement he was finally promoted to Professor.

Gallagher (1938:150) estimated that up to 1938 probably no more than half a dozen blacks had ever held regular staff appointments at traditionally white colleges. In 1940 not one of the 330 blacks with Ph.D.s in this country taught full-time at a white college or university. When Allison Davis, a sociologist and anthropologist, joined the faculty at the University of Chicago in 1941 he became the first black within anybody's memory to be appointed on a full-time basis to the faculty of a "white" college or university in the United States. Despite this and other widely publicized appointments of black professors to the faculties of such prestigious institutions as the University of Chicago, a survey of 1,000 northern institutions conducted in 1948 (Atwood, Smith and Vaughn 1949) found no more than 133 black professors.

By 1958, when at least 673 blacks had earned doctorates, Moss (1958:451) estimated that "not more than 200" black teachers were employed in continuing capacities in predominantly white colleges. Truly the "market" for black professors in anything other than the colleges founded for blacks was indeed small! By virtue of the caste-like system and the pattern of exclusion from the faculties of the prestigious universities of the nation, black professors were not only relegated to institutions in the economically and educationally under-developed South (with concommitantly lower pay and poorer working conditions), but they were also denied regular collegial interaction in the "core sector" of the national system of higher education. Location in the lower sector of America's hierarchy of higher educational institutions also muted the impact on collective definitions of social reality of the remarkably sound scholarship they produced under the conditions of separateness and inequality.

Before 1900, according to Brubacher and Rudy (1958:75), "practically all of the faculty members of southern Negro colleges were idealistic educational missionaries who had been educated in northern colleges." One might add that typically these private colleges for blacks not only had predominantly white faculty but also white presidents and governing boards. In fact, Pifer (1973, see Also McPherson 1970) argued that these and other similar black colleges became the arena for a power struggle which spanned the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and which resulted in blacks gaining control of faculty positions and presidencies at such institutions as Hampton Institute, Fisk University, Howard University, Paine College and Lincoln University. These were all occasions for public note and rejoicing in the American black community (see for example DuBois' citing the appointment of Dr. Horace Mann Bond as the dawn of a "new day at Lincoln University," Chicago Defender, May 18, 1946). The Governing boards were another matter still remaining largely in the hands of nationally and regionally prominent white males with business and corporate experience, philosophy, and connections.

Cracks in the Wall of Separation: Litigation and Liason, 1933-1954

Desegregation in higher education has received far less attention than the desegregation of public elementary and secondary schools in the quarter-century since the Brown decision. This is so even though lawsuits aimed at breaking up college segregation were filed in the South as long ago as 1933. This section of the essay briefly traces the origins, dynamics and results of litigation aimed at overturning legalized segregation in American higher education from 1933-1954.

As Ezell (1963:271) put it, "the system of segregation was not abandoned quickly or gracefully. States attempted to get around the situation by appropriating money for out-of-state graduate training for their Negro citizens." This evasive action made it clear to black Southerners seeking opportunities for graduate and professional training in their native region that they were facing a tortuously slow, costly and unglamorous process of litigation in the South. Indeed, the period between 1933 and 1954 might be termed an era of litigation in the struggle of Southern Black Americans for equal access to higher education. The drive first for equitable but separate and later for totally unsegregated graduate and professional education was at the cutting edge of the NAACP's litigation efforts in the field of education. Although the Brown cases involved pre-college level institutions, many of the slowly evolved arguments and judicial precedents had been established in litigation revolving around the admission of blacks to graduate schools of law, pharmacy, education, and journalism.

This litigation was part of a strategic move designed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to test the tenacity of the "separate but equal" doctrine which had been laid down nearly forty years earlier in Plessy V. Ferguson (1896). In the early 1930s the NAACP received a $10,000 grant from the American Fund for Public Service, a foundation established by Charles Garland. Some of the funds were used to retain Charles H. Houston, vice dean of Howard University's School of Law. Houston became the legal architect of the NAACP's assault on Jim Crow. It was no accident that the strategy developed by Houston focused on graduate and professional schools. Drawing on Greenberg (1960:34-37) Bullock (1967:226) eloquently elucidates the logic of the choice:

> The strategy called for attacking segregation in public education at its point of greatest vulnerability - the point where no claim of 'separate but equal' could be reasonably made, and where no promise of equalization could be proved with ease. There were virtually no public graduate and professional schools open to Negroes in the South, and it was thought that judges, by virtue of sheer academic affinity, would understand the shortcomings of separate legal education with which some of the cases were concerned. Since it would be

> financially impossible to furnish true equality, it was expected that desegregation would be the only practicable way to fulfill the constitutional obligation of equal protection. Also, small numbers of mature students would be involved. This fact was expected to forestall any argument based upon the possibility of violence or the threat of social revolution...The strategy would let Negroes eat their cake and have it too: Negro leadership would be augmented, whether the cases resulted in the desegregation of the old professional and graduate schools that were all-white or the creation of new ones that would be all-Negro.

Furthermore, this chipping away at the legal walls of segregation was embedded in a larger trend lasting throughout the New Deal and extending through the War years in which "the powerful thrusts of minorities had been ramming more and more holes in the walls of discrimination." (Goldman, 1960:12) These thrusts included, among other things, an assualt on the quotas for the admission of Jewish Americans to such prestigious New England men's colleges as Dartmouth and to the nation's elite graduate and professional schools.

Cases too numerous to be examined in detail here were brought before state courts between 1933 and 1954. The best known and most significant cases to reach the United States Supreme Court during this period which challenged all-white admissions policies of public colleges and universities in southern and border states were: 1) Missouri ex rel. Gaines vs. Canada, 1938, 2) Sipuel vs. Board of Regents, 1948 3) McLaurin vs. Oklahoma Board of Regents, 1950 and 4) Sweatt vs. Painter, 1950. In all of the above-mentioned cases except Gaines the plaintiffs won permission to enter previously all-white institutions at the graduate or professional level, but admission was still couched within the framework of "separate but equal". The principal significance of the Sipuel and Sweatt decisions was that the Court considered intangibles as well as buildings and facilities in determining whether equal educational opportunity was being provided.

Beginning as early as 1933 cracks in the wall of separation in public colleges and universities in the South began to appear. In that year Thomas Hocutt unsuccessfully tried to secure admission to the school of pharmacy at the University of North Carolina through court action (Ezell 1963:271).

One of the most significant early challenges to the pattern of strict legalized segregation in Southern higher education came in the case of Murray vs. University of Maryland. In June 1935, upon being denied admission to the law school of the University of Maryland, Donald Gaines Murray filed a mandamus suit against the university in a Baltimore City court. By September 25 of the same year the court had ordered the University of Maryland to admit Murray to its law school. On November 5, after Murray entered classes, the state court of appeals

denied the university's appeal and upheld the ruling of the lower court. Murray graduated from the University of Maryland law school in June, 1938 (Murray 1942:40).

Despite the Murray decision, educational policy in Maryland dictated that undergraduate departments be closed to blacks. This policy was not revised until after the Brown decision of 1954 and by the 1957-58 academic year Fleming (1958:282) estimates that no more than 250-350 blacks attended predominantly white institutions of higher learning in Maryland (including private institutions).

When challenged by black litigants who questioned their equalness under the system of legalized separation, some southern states resorted to the establishment of fellowship laws which enabled blacks seeking graduate and professional education (particularly law school) to study outside the state rather than to desegregate publicly funded institutions in their home states. The following states passed such fellowship laws between 1921 and 1937: Missouri (1921), West Virginia (1927), Kentucky (1935), Maryland (1935), Texas (1936) Virginia (1936) and Tennessee (1937).

On December 12, 1938, acting on a lawsuit filed by Lloyd Gaines on July 10, 1935, the United States Supreme Court overturned a May 1937 ruling of the Missouri State Supreme Court and ruled that Gaines could not be excluded from the University of Missouri Law School on grounds of color. The Court ruled further that the state must provide equal educational facilities within state boundaries and ruled, in effect, that out-of-state scholarship provisions did not furnish equal facilities. Gaines' subsequent mysterious disappearance resulted in the dropping of further litigation revolving around whether a hastily established law school at Lincoln University complied with the Court's interpretation of the law. Then, following the Gaines case in 1938 in which the Supreme Court invalidated Missouri's fellowship law, several states either created law schools or began offering graduate work at black institutions which had previously offered neither. Within a year after the Gaines decision, law schools had been established for blacks at Lincoln University in Missouri and North Carolina College for Negroes at Durham and graduate work was offered for the first time at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College (See Pittsburgh Courier, June 18, 1939).

According to Valien (1958:376) "there was no graduate or professional instruction for Negroes in any state-supported college in the South," in 1937, but as blacks began to demand implementation of the Gaines decision "the states, in order to preclude the admission of Negroes to white state colleges, gradually instituted graduate and professional education programs in the Negro state colleges." Thus, by 1945, there were ten state-supported colleges for blacks offering graduate work in eight Southern states.

By December 31, 1941 a clear pattern of response by white Southern legislatures had emerged. They had either provided out-of-state scholarships as was the case for West Virginia, Missouri, Maryland,

Oklahoma, Texas, Tennessee and Virginia or they had voted to establish the various educational departments involved in the lawsuits at state-supported black institutions. The NAACP's response to these measures was unequivocal:

> (1) out-of-state scholarships are not satisfactory and were outlawed by the U.S. Supreme Court; (2) attempts to establish inferior graduate and professional schools will not be acceptable and will only lead to further litigation. (quoted in Murray 1942:42)

The years following the Second World War have been so overshadowed by the events of the 1960's that Dalfiume (1968) called them "The Forgotton Years of the Negro Revolution." A rush of now little-remembered events between 1944 and 1948 gave significant impetus to the long drive for the desegregation of public institutions, particularly institutions of higher learning. The passage of the GI Bill of Rights in 1944 was at least as significant for the black American community as it is generally acknowledged to be for the society at large. Although little attention has been given specifically to the impact of the GI Bill on blacks in higher education, it was generally true, as Goldman (1960:12) described it, that:

> Hundreds of thousands who had thought of the university as a preserve of the rich found themselves headed toward an A.B - in many cases, toward the highest of professional degrees.

Then in 1946 Truman established the President's Commission on Higher Education which, in a preliminary report published in 1948, stated:

> The time has come to make public education at all levels equally accessible to all, without regard to race, creed, sex or national origin (p. 38).

Probably the first black student to enter a state university in any of the former confederate states since Reconstruction was Silas Hunt who enrolled in the University of Arkansas in 1948 (see Ashmore, 1954: 36).

In the same year Edith Mae Irby was admitted to the University of Arkansas Medical School (Bullock, 1967:262) and the University of Delaware announced that blacks would be accepted for all courses not offered at Delaware State College for Negroes. In 1949 the University of Kentucky began admitting blacks to its graduate school. The trickle of token desegregation, usually of graduate and professional schools, continued into the early 1950s.

The practical policy evolved in Arkansas and most of the southern and border states before the Brown decision was to limit black registration at formerly all-white institutions to graduate and professional schools.

In 1950 the U.S. Supreme Court ordered Herman Sweatt to be admitted to the University of Texas Law School despite the fact that in 1947 the state of Texas had established a separate law school for blacks at Texas Southern University.

Some of these cases, like the Paducah Junior College Case in Kentucky have received less scholarly and public attention than cases like Gaines and Sweatt vs. Painter. One possible explanation for this relative obscurity is that the orders of the U.S. district courts in such less well known cases were followed without appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. This was the situation in the Paducah Junior College Case. Racial segregation in Kentucky's public educational institutions at all levels was maintained through the enforcement of the Day School Law of 1904. Initial implementation of this Jim Crow-style act in Kentucky's colleges had involved the curtailment at Berea College of a significant experiment in what was termed "co-education." Berea was converted from a racially integrated college to an all-white "folk school" (Black, 1957:276-287) and public higher education in the blue-grass state remained tightly segregated until 1949 when the Paducah Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People initiated a law suit to desegregate the facilities of Paducah Junior College. Eventually, in June 1953, almost a year before the historic Brown decision, the first black students enrolled at Paducah Junior College (Murrell, 1969: 63-79).

The period between 1948 and the rendering of the Brown decision in 1954 was marked by "voluntary" desegregation in higher education in a number of the 17 legally "separate" states. The result of such voluntarism was seldom more than tokenism aimed at forestalling more massive and widespread desegregation.

Arguing that "The most important aspect of Fair Dealism in general was not what it did but what it threatened," Goldman (1960: 95-96) said that Truman's Fair Deal hung over the South "bringing a rash of voluntary moves to open educational and economic opportunities to Negroes lest civil rights legislation should force them open still more widely."

In a survey conducted during the summer of 1953 Guy B. Johnson (1954: 6) found that blacks had been admitted "on the graduate and professional level only in most instances" to at least twenty Southern institutions of higher learning between 1948 and 1952. In his presidential address to the Southern Sociological Society on March 26, 1954 Johnson noted that 25 publicly supported universities and colleges in the South had admitted black students on the graduate and professional level. Thus several months before the historic Brown decision all of the southern state universities had some black students on their campuses except: 1) South Carolina, 2) Georgia, 3) Alabama, 4) Mississippi, and 5) Florida (Johnson 1954:3).

Much of the case law involving the chipping away of legalized segregation in graduate and professional education in the 17 separate states is mentioned or referenced in the Brown Decision.

Thus by the time of the Brown decision the legal foundation for full-scale desegregation of public higher education in the South had been laid and some token desegregation of graduate and professional schools had occurred. Most states followed the strategy pursued by North Carolina, exhausting every legal remedy in order to pass the onus of desegregation on to the federal government (Burns 1980: 218). When legal remedies were exhausted most states reluctantly complied with the Court's rulings. But only reluctantly. If the era of desegregation can be said to have begun with the admission of the first black graduate and professional students, it had begun with a whimper and not a bang. In fact desegregation in state-supported institutions which had no graduate programs not available at state-supported traditionally black institutions was almost nil.

In the meantime, black educators, who were acutely aware of the court decisions, began to explore the implications of desegregation for traditionally black colleges. In 1951 Howard University president Mordecai Johnson said:

> I look upon this overcoming of segregation as both a great advantage and a possible fatal danger...Our discussion is based upon an assumption which is extraordinary. We assume that this process of integration will be presided over divinely by one who will see to it that all aspects of integration are carried on simultaneously. (Minutes, 18th Annual Meeting of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1951:22-23).

Johnson probably suspected that it would be easier to integrate blacks as students, for example, than to incorporate black professionals as faculty and administrators:

> It is quite possible to have you integrated in every level of any cultural agency, but if it is unaccompanied by a policy that is determined to employ the Negro in every area of life and to advance him to positions of responsibility, then the doing away of segregation may be the passageway to death. (Minutes of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1951:23).

Concern for the employment prospects of black college teachers existed at two levels. First, persons already employed as teachers were frankly worried about losing their jobs. In remarks made to the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, made the following statement which describes both the job fear of some elements of the black population and his perception of the need for black educators to make sacrifices and to enter into competition on the open market:

> The best education in a democracy is not available in any racially segregated institution, stated Dr. Thompson. There are some people who give lip service to the idea of integration but are afraid of being out of a job, especially in the public schools. Some of the Negro population did not wish to see certain schools abolished because of Negro teachers. On the bigger and higher level you cannot protect your job in an integrated system. You must realize this and sacrifice, if necessary. We must have a willingness to meet open competition and willingness to set up and carry out minimum programs of standards all the way. (Minutes, 1951:16).

It should be remembered that until 1956 traditionally black colleges did not have to meet the existing accreditation standards applied to traditionally white institutions as to the degrees held by teachers, the numbers of books in the library, and so forth. To allow for a double academic standard, black colleges were "approved" while white colleges were "accredited." It was not until 1961 that the last seven member institutions of the United Negro College Fund to have separate double standard ratings moved into the "fully-accredited" column on a single standard (Daniel 1964: 37-38). Thus one of the ironies of the American system is that some black professionals had acquired what E. Franklin Frazier termed "the Negro's vested interest" in the hated system of racial segregation.

If faculty desegregation in the early 1950s had meant the sudden application of the white standard in such matters as degrees held by teachers the job fears of black teachers were not entirely unfounded. Subsequent developments in public school systems in terms of the fate of blacks holding principalships and other positions of authority confirmed rather than allayed the fears of black college teachers.

In an address to the Association of Colleges and Schools in 1951, Mordecai Johnson identified a second and longer-ranged consideration in the employment of black teachers under desegregation:

> The important thing about the employment of Negro teachers, as important as it may be, is not whether the present generation of teachers will be employed but whether that child who enters as a freshman at Louisville and whether his acceptance will be based upon his abilities and character (Minutes of the Association, 1951: 23).

As events unfolded in the 1950s and early 1960s, not many black freshmen entering traditionally white institutions had the prospects of becoming professors at such colleges; mainly because not many black freshmen entered traditionally white colleges throughout the 1950s. If the 1940s had been marked by token breakthroughs in black admissions to Southern public graduate and professional schools, the 1950s was a decade of legal challenge, official footdragging and token breakthroughs

at the undergraduate level. By 1956-57 only three formerly segregated states had officially opened all their public colleges to black undergraduates: Kentucky, Maryland and Oklahoma. Kentucky appears to have become almost a laboratory of desegregation in Southern higher education not because it was the only state which enrolled black undergraduates but because of the wide extent of desegregation and the positive spirit with which public officials conducted themselves. In 1949, following a federal court decision, Lyman Johnson, a black teacher at Louisville's Central High School, was admitted to graduate courses at the University of Kentucky (Parrish 1958: 263-264) A.B. Atwood of Kentucky State College perceived that "They were ready to open. They accepted it very cordially and welcomed Negroes to graduate and professional schools." (Minutes of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1951: 17-18). In 1950 the Kentucky legislature voted 138 to 1 to change the segregation law so that any college could revise its admission policies so as to admit blacks. Developments in Louisville were unique in that desegregation was not limited to graduate and professional schools but also applied to undergraduate schools (Parrish, 1958: 264).

By 1958 desegregation of student bodies in higher education had occurred in 12 states and the District of Columbia (the twelve states were Arkansas, Delaware, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia and Texas). In Delaware the litigation to desegregate higher education was initiated by nine students at Delaware State College for Colored Students following the rejection of their applications by both the administrative officers and trustees of the University of Delaware. On August 9, 1950 the Court of Chancery of Delaware ruled that the students were entitled to admission to the previously all-white state university. Several days thereafter some of the plaintiffs enrolled at the University. They eventually graduated (Redding 1958). By 1957-58, to take just one other illustration, 446 black students had enrolled in 13 different previously white state colleges in Oklahoma. On June 6, 1955 Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education had adopted the following policy statement:

> The governing boards and the respective presidents of the state-supported institutions within the State System of Higher Education are hereby authorized to accept qualified Oklahoma resident Negro students for admission effective at the opening of the fall term 1955 (quoted in Moon, 1958:301).

During the 1955-56 academic year only 143 black students enrolled in the 13 different previously all-white state colleges in Oklahoma. Not until 1955, almost two decades after Donald Murray had entered the Law School under court order, did the University of Maryland open its undergraduate division to black students.

In 1958 there were five remaining states in the Deep South where no desegregation had taken place at any publicly-supported institution (Thompson, 1958:210). Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina were labeled "hard core" states by Hampton Institute's William H. Robinson (1960:234). As Robinson indicated, "Florida relinquished its

membership in this group by admitting one Negro to the University of Florida Law School." (1960:238). He also noted that three black students were enrolled for summer study at a state university in 1959 and that one black woman had been admitted to the Medical School in the fall of the same year. The admission of these five students, all at the graduate and professional level, constituted "the complete story of desegregation in Florida's tax-supported higher education system" (Robinson, 1960:239).

The dramas and traumas of undergraduate desegregation between 1958 and 1963 were played out with great attention from the popular news media in Georgia (Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes), Alabama (George Wallace's infamous stand at the school house door which was actually the entrance to the University of Alabama) and Mississippi (the events surrounding the attendance of James Meredith at the University of Mississippi at Oxford). As of August 1963 the Florida Constitution still required that: "White and colored children shall not be taught in the same schools, but impartial provision shall be made for both" (The Florida Constitution, Article 12, section 12, 1885). One year before the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 only the staff of Dade County Junior College was not segregated (Report on Florida, Florida Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, August 1963: 12). Furthermore, as late as 1957 Florida embarked on an extensive junior college program and yet, as noted in the report of the Florida Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, "despite the Brown decision and despite the cost of duplicating facilities, Florida's school officials have created a completely segregated junior college system."(12).

Our cursory review of the process of desegregation in Southern higher education during the decade following the Brown decision indicates that a number of legal and symbolic changes had taken place which resulted in at least token desegregation at both the undergraduate and graduate student levels in all of the former "separate but equal" states. By this time, however, so much social energy had been expended in breaking the color barrier in student admissions, particularly in the "hard core" states of the Deep South that little social surplus was left for a specific thrust toward breaking the color bar at the faculty level. When the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, hardly any traditionally white institution of higher learning in the Southern and border states had hired black faculty members or administrators.

In the next section, the final unit in our historical overview, we focus on the position of black professors in the academic labor market, the evolution of the concept and practice of affirmative action, and its relatively recent application to institutions of higher learning.

To the extent that affirmative action and equal employment opportunity in higher education are perceived as social problems, Edelman's analysis of "political language" (1977) may be relevant to this discussion of perceptions of the split labor market. Edelman analyzes the role of: 1) everyday language, 2) government rhetoric and 3) professional language in creating dubious beliefs about the causes, nature and consequences of poverty and other social problems. Edelman suggests that public officials, professionals, administrators and others embrace certain complex cognitive structures which are engendered through recurring categorizations, metaphors, metonyms and syntactic structures. Such "political cognitions" need not be empirically based. The pervasiveness of what Edelman calls "political language" in the discussion of social problems has serious consequences for public policy especially when public policy discourse relies so heavily upon symbolically engendered perceptions and beliefs. In this section of the essay we address both the reality and the rhetoric of the racial dimensions of the academic marketplace between 1960 and 1980.

Educated people, whether black or white, have come to be viewed as the "raw material" of corporate enterprise. Ely Callaway, president of Burlington Industries, Incorporated and chairman of the National Corporations Committee of the United Negro College Fund said:

> It is in the interest of American business to have educated people, its raw material. It needs educated blacks as well as whites, and the Negro college student is the greatest untapped source of brainpower. (Business Week, March 20, 1971: 92)

If raw material is scarce, then the price of "material" (in this case also one and the same as the price of labor) will be high. If, on the other hand, there is a superabundance of "raw materials," they may be had cheaply.

The Rhetorical Metaphor of the Academic Marketplace

It may be more than coincidental that discussions of affirmative action and equal employment opportunity in higher education are usually conducted using the rhetoric of supply, demand and price of labor.

In his appraisal of private black colleges and universities, economist Robert C. Weaver (1960: 114) stressed the relative scarcity of well-trained black college professors and the need to train more:

> The basic problem is that we just don't have enough well-trained Negroes and of course, this is symptomatic of a more general situation affecting the total population. The only way to meet this problem is to increase appreciably the number of qualified Negroes with advanced degrees and to continue the employment of well-trained competent white teachers. (Note: Weaver was then a consultant to the Ford Foundation's Public Affairs Program.)

Ironically, after deliberate legalized segregation in higher education had been wiped from the statutes, the percentage of black faculty among all full-time college teachers actually dropped slightly. In 1960, 3 percent of the full-time college faculty in the United States were black. The proportion of blacks among all full-time college teachers had dropped down to 2.2 percent by 1968 (Fleming et al, 1978: 78). By the end of 1976, according to data from the National Center on Educational Statistics, Black faculty constituted 4 percent of all college teachers (Middleton 1978:10).

In analyses of 1964 data reflecting the place of black college educators in the academic marketplace, geographer Rose (1966a and b) estimated that almost 75 percent of the 6,000 blacks teaching in colleges and universities in that year were employed at institutions in the South which had been founded specifically for blacks. He noted that this figure represented a slight decrease from the proportion or black educators working in Southern black schools in 1960 (82 percent). Rose also observed that despite a corresponding increase in the numbers and proportions of black college educators employed in "the open market," employment opportunities for black professors remained severely limited. It has been estimated that by 1973 about one-third of the 15,000 black full-time college faculty were teaching in traditionally black institutions (Middleton, 1978:10).

Although the constitutional basis for federal intervention in the conditions of Black Americans can be found in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments and the Reconstruction Civil Rights Acts, the development and implementation of federal laws which prohibit employment discrimination and require affirmative action are of relatively more recent origin. Beginning with the issuance of Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941, a series of federal administrative efforts have been made to ban racial discrimination in hiring through the federal contract compliance program. It was not until 1957, however, that the Congress began passing weak civil rights legislation after a lull of 82 years since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1875.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957, the first civil rights legislation passed by Congress since 1875, was a weak piece of legislation. In addition to creating the United States Commission on Civil Rights, a body armed only with investigatory power and the power to recommend legislation to the Congress, the Act also called for the creation of the Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department.

Executive Order 11246 (issued by Lyndon B. Johnson on October 13, 1965) prohibited discrimination and required affirmative action by employers who held contracts larger than $50,000 or who employed fifty or more persons. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and its 1972 Amendments (Equal Employment Opportunity Act) extended the prohibition of discrimination to educational institutions. Finally under the pressure of the Adams case (Adams vs. Richardson) the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) was required to begin enforcement proceedings against 10 Southern states. Those states were requested to develop and adopt plans which would remove any remaining vestige of segregation, and specific activities were itemized which would bring state university and college systems into compliance with HEW guidelines.

As is generally known, between January 1969 and February 1970, the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health Education and Welfare determined that the following states still operated dual systems of higher education: 1) Louisiana, 2) Mississippi, 3) Oklahoma, 4) North Carolina, 5) Florida, 6) Arkansas, 7) Pennsylvania, 8) Georgia, and 9) Maryland.

Each of the states was asked to submit a voluntary desegregation plan, but as of February 1973, the following states had submitted no plans at all: 1) Louisiana, 2) Mississippi, 3) Oklahoma, 4) North Carolina, and 5) Florida.

In the meantime in October of 1970 the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and the Washington, D.C. law firm of Rauh, Silardo and Lichtman filed a class action suit against the Department of H.E.W. The suit has come to be known as the Adams Case or Adams V. Richardson. (Not without a little irony we note that the first of 31 black students listed among the plaintiffs in the class action suit was named John Quincy Adams. In February, Judge John Pratt, U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, issued a court order instructing H.E.W. to initiate proceedings for the withholding of federal funds to higher education in the appropriate states. H.E.W. appealed the ruling and lost the appeal on June 12, 1973. The affected states were required to submit comprehensive desegregation plans to the Office for Civil Rights by June 1, 1974.

The direct application of federal scrutiny and anti-discrimination regulations to the hiring of faculty at colleges and universities is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Not until 1971 did the Department of Labor issue Revised Order No. 4 which removed an earlier exemption of higher educational institutions from coverage by federal contract compliance regulations. The 1972-73 academic year was the first full year during which affirmative action guidelines were in effect in institutions of higher learning (Fleming, et al., 1978:95).

There had been a long-standing condition of labor scarcity where black academics were concerned but, in the absence of strong demand, this condition did not by itself have the effect of driving up the price of labor

for black academicians. Prior to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 Southern blacks did not have the electoral clout to exert voting pressure in such a way as to increase the demand for black academic labor. It seems likely that the demands of black campus activists on predominantly white campuses to hire more black faculty and administrators, to recruit and adequately fund black graduate students; and to recruit and adequately fund black undergraduate students were significant causal factors in raising the demand for black academic workers. The combination of heightened demand and the relative scarcity of black academic labor (actually between 1960, the year of the Greensboro Sit-Ins and 1964, the year of the passage of the Civil Rights Act, just when changes in the rational-legal structure foreshadowed expanding employment opportunities for black professors, black academics actually declined as a proportion of the academic labor force) may have temporarily driven the price of labor for black academics up though not necessarily up to par. This is a statement about the directionality of changes in the price of labor for black academics, not an assertion that equity has been achieved.

The application of federal contract compliance mechanisms to academia beginning in the fall of 1972 (academic year 1972-73 was the first year during which these guidelines applied to universities which had been previously and explicitly exempted from coverage) may also have contributed to an increased demand for black academic laborers. While most informed observers of American higher education would acknowledge at least these two sociopolitical forces - the campus phases of the black liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s and federal intervention - little attention has been given to the possible causal nexus between the black student movement and the emergence of the concept of affirmative action in the first place.

According to Fisher (1973:360), its "impact on institutions of higher learning" was "One of the most significant accomplishments of the black liberation movement in the United States to date." Implicitly, one of the "accomplishments" Fisher had in mind was the creation of a high demand for black professors:

> Black students and black professors are currently in great demand. Employment of black professors is a top-priority item at many formerly all-white colleges and universities, even though employment opportunity at these institutions for whites is scant (1973:360).

Fisher took a "wait and see" posture when he acknowledged the possibility that "this situation is a temporary aberration."

During the 1970s when the Office for Civil Rights began to use the federal contract compliance mechanism as a lever for expanding employment opportunities in higher education for blacks, women and other minorities, the demand situation for black college educators was significantly altered. When the possibility of heightened federal scrutiny was added to the already potent demands of black students at

predominantly white colleges all over the nation for "more black professors", there was some reason to believe that, because of the requirements of affirmative action and the pressure of black campus protestors, black professors were at a premium in the academic marketplace. For example, among the suggestions made in 1971 at a three-day conference sponsored by the Institute for Higher Educational Opportunity (a sub-unit of the Southern Regional Education Board) was this:

> Because demand [our emphasis] exceeds supply, colleges are willing to pay a premium for top black educators, (SREB workbook, October, 1971).

For whatever reasons (many observers would admit the existence of blatant and subtle forms of racial discrimination in access to and retention in graduate schools), American higher education had not trained a number of black college professors sufficient to meet these sharply increased demands for black academic labor. At the same time there was much talk of "over-production," "oversupply," and the "glut of the market" among white Ph.D.s. Theoretically, such labor market conditions could generate what economists call a seller's market for academicians from the bureaucratically defined "affected classes" and a buyer's market for the rest. It should be added that this reverse in the direction of the racial division of the academic labor market occurred precisely at a time when academia in general was experiencing a slow down of the rate of expansion. Because of the lag between market conditions and the production of Ph.D.s, the tap of trained manpower continued to flow into a generally shrinking job market. Job-hungry white Ph.Ds. could be had "dime a dozen," the widely believed popular theory holds, whereas the relatively small number of fully-credentialed black professors and administrators could demand or hold out for premium prices. Conceivably, some, (but certainly not all) segments of the black professoriate may have been transformed into a higher paid segment of the academic labor market. At any rate, many college administrators came to believe this notion. The perception of Robert L. Gluckstern reported by The Chronicle of Higher Education (October 2, 1978) is not an isolated phenomenon. Gluckstern, Chancellor of the University of Maryland at College Park, according to the report, "offered a high-ranking administrative job to a black person at yearly salary that was several thousand dollars higher than he would have offered to a white for the same position. However, the black applicant went to another institution that offered him even more money."

There are signs that ethnic antagonism and tension persist among both students and faculty at predominantly white campuses. The cross-pressures of federal affirmative action requirements, black pressure groups and a shrinking academic marketplace all contribute to these tensions. In the spring of 1978 many black and white college students told reporters from The Chronicle of Higher Education that "racial tension" is still a fact of life on many American college campuses. In the fall of the same year The Chronicle discussed "Black Professors on White Campuses." (October 2, 1978). It was reported that during the 1977-78 academic year no less than 7 black instructors or staff members at the University of Maryland at College Park were 1) denied

tenure, 2) fired, or 3) demoted. Among the gripes mentioned by some black professors were: 1) tenure woes, 2) feelings of professional isolation, and 3) loneliness. At least one unnamed black administrator formulated what might be called the affirmative action backlash theory which explained some of the woes in terms of labor market competition.

At the same time, many traditionally black private colleges and universities completed the transformation from white administrators to black administrators while many traditionally black public colleges which had been formally all black began employing whites as faculty. In general, initial integration of traditionally black campuses by whites occurred with little notice. Melish (1970) found that at traditionally black southern campuses, whites were often perceived as foreigners or curiosities. Further, whites were rarely included in campus activities. No doubt part of this lack of inclusion was due to problems in communication. Kuritz (1967) was correct in his comment that:

> ...within the confines of their own campuses, (blacks... deal with the problems of integration in a uniquely different setting where, at least, they are in the majority and their white colleagues are members of a minority...People with common tastes and interests will naturally gravitate toward each other...a Negro subculture is difficult (for whites) to penetrate... also difficult for Negroes to form (varied) associations of their own...communication is clogged.

By the middle of the 1970s substantially larger numbers of white students and faculty members had entered traditionally black colleges and universities. Some of the factors affecting this growth pattern included: (1) the growth of traditionally black colleges and universities which required larger numbers of faculty in a wide variety of disciplines; (2) the traditionally black colleges and universities provided an opportunity for employment of white faculty in their chosen field while traditionally white colleges were seen as faculty saturated; and (3) in terms of the motivation for employment of whites as seen by some employers, white faculty who held the doctorate could be employed at less expense to the institution and give the institution the necessary additional credentials for getting their program accredited.

Quantifiable data on the experiences of white employees at traditionally black institutions are quite rare. Using the case study method, Jacques (1980), however, has analyzed black-white relations at one traditionally black university noting:

> It is clear that authority relations exist with blacks as the superordinate element and whites as the subordinate element at this black university. Further, the data of Minority University make it clear that whites at the university are relegated

> to lower pay and inferior status, and are subordinate in authority relations. That is, a caste-like system has developed at Minority University. All of the following were indicators of this pattern: the total domination of the authority structure by blacks; the relatively higher status and salary for black faculty even when controlling for other important variables; the differential recruitment patterns; reserving the highest rank and concomitant authority positions for blacks; and greater job security for blacks measured by tenure status and attrition rates (1980: 234)

Some white employees believed that the patterns of discrimination were sufficiently blatant that they could file and win court litigation. Indeed, two cases have come to light were judges have ruled in favor of the plantiffs and specifically noted that whites were discriminated against in employment hiring decisions (Schwartz vs. State of Florida, 1980) and promotion/tenure decisions (Johnson, 1980).

Classical split market labor theory is predicated upon the existence of real, substantial and externally verifiable differences in the price of labor for the same or similar work. Implicit in our modification of the theory is the notion that the perception or "common knowledge" of a differential price of labor, even in the absence of substantial verification or with evidence of miniscule differences in the price of labor along ethnic lines, may be both a necessary and a sufficient prerequisite for the emergence of the "new resentments," "new lines of conflict," "new turfs" and "new angers" which Glazer and others have aptly described. This may be an example of the operation of W.I. Thomas's social psychological dictum that in social matters what a person perceives to be true is for all practical purposes true.

Higher Education and Changing Patterns of Ideological Support for Structured Racial Discrimination, the Early 19th Century through 1980

One of Turner and Singleton's (1978) two main assumptions was that "No enduring social pattern persists unless legitimated by beliefs." Inspired by this assumption to examine the role of colleges and universities in rationalizing and legitimating patterns of ethnic stratification, we have come to view the university as a source of research-based and academically legitimated beliefs which tend to support enduring patterns of ethnic stratification (not to mention sex differentiation) as being the product of the workings of "natural law".

Prior to about 1930 structured racial and ethnic discrimination in American higher education, as in other areas of American life, was ideologically reinforced by widely accepted and (at that time) academically respectable beliefs in the innate biological inferiority of those subjected to discrimination. As Higham has pointed out, the subject of race-thinking in Europe and America "requires a grasp of both scientific and social thought" (1967:406). The race-thinking of such leading nineteenth century American scientists as Samuel G. Morton and Louis Agassiz might most neutrally be classified as pre-Darwinian. Count (1946) and Stanton (1960) dissected scientific attitudes toward race in the first half of the nineteenth century. Newby (1965) traced the vagaries of the concept of innate Negro inferiority among scientists, social scientists and theologians between 1900 and 1930). The pervasiveness and respectability of academic racism through the late 1920s underscores the continuity of dominant beliefs across institutions in an ethnically stratified society. Recent studies of both conscious and unconscious "finagling" practiced by such nineteenth century scientists as the anatomist Morton (Gould, 1978) and the twentieth century psychologist and protégé of pioneer eugenicist Sir Francis Galton, Sir Cyril Burt, remind us that the scientific research enterprise itself is a social process and that scientists, too, are human. Their status as truth-seekers did not and could not exempt them from social influences on their knowledge.

Turner and Singleton (1978: 1004) argued that dominant beliefs have changed over time from biological to psycho-cultural explanations for the continued subordination of blacks. Schuman (1969) has called this newer configuration of dominant beliefs "sociological racism." We would add that although a majority of professional social and behavioral scientists between the mid 1930s and the late 1960s leaned heavily toward an environmentalist explanation of group differences, a vocal minority of scholars and laymen (See Putnam 1960 and 1967) nursed the hereditarian theory of profound innate racial differences and kept it alive until the late 1960s when the works of Jensen (1969), Herrnstein (1970), Shockley (1971) and others began to gain wider public attention and apparent academic respectability. With the rise of the "new science" of sociobiology the forces of nature appear to be pushing the pendulum of the nature versus nurture controversy back toward biologistic explanations for observed racial and sexual differences in human society.

Black inferiority was axiomatic in the pre-Darwinian half of the 19th century. In his now infamous Dred Scott decision of 1857, Roger Brooke Taney, the slaveholding Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, provided a disturbingly accurate thumbnail profile of American race-thinking from the mid-seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century.

> They had for more than a century before [the Declaration of Independence...the Negroes] been regarded as beings of an inferior order...so far inferior that they had no rights which a white man was bound to respect.

Leading scholars of these times provided elaborate "proofs" of black inferiority while ignoring or minimizing contrary evidence-a human tendency from which scientists are not exempt. The print media journalists of those times, not unlike contemporary journalists, found such scientific proofs to be exceedingly welcome news and diligently reported the "scientific findings" as is their constitutional right under the First Amendment.

An excellent general overview of the findings of "objective" physical and social science which either explicitly claimed to prove or were widely taken as proof of black inferiority is Rhett S. Jones, "Proving Blacks Inferior, 1870-1930," (1971)[3]. Among the university professors whose work either attempted to prove black inferiority or which rested on that assumption were a number of individuals considered to be leaders of their fields and individuals working in some of the nation's most prestigious universities. They included Nathanial S. Shaler, one time Dean at Harvard University (1886 and 1900); sociologist Ullysses Grant Weatherly of Indiana University; John Mecklin of Lafayette College and later the University of Pittsburgh (1913); Alfred Holt Stone, member of a committee established by the American Economic Association to study "the Negro problems," (1916); Edward B. Reuter, a sociologist at the University of Iowa (and later at Fisk University... see his book The Mulatto in the United States, 1918); Howard Odum (1910), who much later revised some of the ideas of black inferiority originally expressed in his doctoral dissertation submitted to Columbia University in 1910; Joshua Morse of the University of South Carolina, whose administration of the recently developed Binet tests to black and white South Carolina public school children was interpreted as proof of black inferiority (1914). The list could go on and reads like a Who's Who of sociology, psychology and anatomy and physiology (for Psychology see Robert V. Guthrie Even the Rat was White, 1976).

Historians of science largely take for granted that what is known as the best available academically respectable science at any given time is influenced by more than scientific evidence alone. Dominant views in science, defined broadly enough to include the "social sciences" or what the French call les sciences humaines ("the human sciences") at any given time are influenced also by prevailing religious, philosophical and social beliefs and attitudes. Among the shaping influences on scientific ideas during the late 19th and early twentieth century

in the United States was the "Gospel of wealth" and unfettered individualism and growth. "Eager to rationalize their unexampled wealth and power," wrote historian Mowry (1958:17), "The great industrialists [of the latter half of the nineteenth century] seized upon Spencer's [Social Darwinist] formulations after they had been brought to the United States by John Fiske, the historian." The thinking of such influential nineteenth century American scholars as William Graham Sumner of Yale University had a decidely deterministic bent. According to Mowry the period from 1900 to 1912 witnessed a slightly greater tolerance for non-deterministic social thinking. Conscious social experimentation, planning and other attempts to bring the environment under human control became more noticeable during that period. Among the events or movements which signaled the loosening grip of deterministic thinking on the American mind were: 1) Frederick W. Taylor's formulation of the principles of scientific industrial management; 2) George Harvey's role in the rise of public relations for industrial corporations; 3) the rise of the city planning movement; 4) efforts at resource conservation and the rise of the birth control movement.

By the 1900s the "scientific" designation of the cluster of newly crystallized academic disciplines, which included economics, political science and psychology, under the heading of social science seemed to capture a scientific spirit which was beginning to percolate through American thought. Simultaneously with the emergence of the modern American university concept and institutional structure came the professionalization and rise to academic respectability of the separate and departmentally organized disciplines which we now call collectively the social sciences. As Mowry (1958:20) pointed out, at least five major academic journals in the social sciences were founded between 1886 and 1890: 1) The Political Science Quarterly, 2) the Quarterly Journal of Economics, 3) the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 4) the Journal of Political Economy and, 5) the American Historical Review. The American Journal of Sociology was launched at the University of Chicago in 1895. Mowry (1958:20) concluded that "For the most part the outlook of the early social scientist in America was the outlook of Herbert Spencer."

The decade following the First World War has been popularly known as the roaring twenties, but historian John Higham labelled his discussion of American nativism and ethnic relations during that period "The Tribal Twenties." Scientific race-thinking during that period centered in the eugenics movement and influenced a substantial proportion of professionals in the nascent Mendelian science of genetics.

In the 1920s prize-winning essayist and popular historian Hendrick Van Loon employed a typical hereditarian quip when he observed that "A Zulu riding in a Rolls Royce is still a Zulu."

In 1921 Henry Fairfield Osborn, a prominent biologist and president of the American Museum of Natural History, was responsible for bringing the Second International Congress of Eugenics to New York. Harvard geneticist Edward M. East and Yale geographer Ellsworth Huntington wrote works in which nordic theory and its implications for immigration

restriction were prominently featured (Higham, 1967:274). The eugenicist thrust received a tremendous boost in the post-war era from the field of psychology, particularly with the rise of the intelligence testing movement. Robert M. Yerkes, president of the American Psychological Association, helped design, administer and analyze the Army Alpha and Beta tests which became the massive reservoir of data with which, initially, a modernized version of scientific racism was developed. Later, it is true, reanalysis of this same data by psychologists and anthropologists with variant viewpoints (see, for example Montagu and Klineberg) was central to what may be termed a scientific assault on racism. Popularizers of hereditarian social scientific thought have viewed the latter with alarm and suspicion labelling it "egalitarian dogma" and explaining it as a product of the "leftist overdrift" in American social science which was strongly influenced by the immigrant anthropologist Franz Boas and his students at Columbia University who fanned out all over the country spreading their "egalitarian hoax" with them as they went. (perhaps the most eloquent and prolific popularizer of what his opponents call "pseudo-scientific racism" is Putnam 1961 and 1967).

In 1921 William McDougall, "perhaps the most eminent social psychologist of his generation, advanced a racial interpretation of history based on the data of the intelligence tests." (Higham, 1967 275).

Between 1900 and 1914 general magazines carried more articles on eugenics than on slums, tenements and living standards combined (Higham, 1967:151).

Charles B. Davenport, one of America's leading zoobiologists, persuaded Mrs. E. H. Harriman to finance a Eugenics Records Office at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island. Eventually Mrs. Harriman poured over half a million dollars into the enterprise. (Higham, 1967:275). Analagous support for William Shockley's "dysgenics" came from a small number of conservative capitalists (as distinguished from liberal capitalists) in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It has recently come to light that Shockley used part of this money to conduct a massive mailout of Jensen's controversial 1969 Harvard Educational Review article to members of the National Academy of Sciences. Newsletters of this organization record Shockley's repeated and, until 1969, futile efforts to persuade the Academy to publicly endorse the need for research into the genetic origins of black inferiority and racial differences.

In examining higher education, the concept of "the price of labor" is primarily economic. Additionally, we have felt it necessary to employ a slightly expanded definition which includes non-monetary intangibles like tenure, academic freedom and job satisfaction. Any mention of the interaction between the opinions of professors and the political and economic ideas of politicians and governing board members inevitably leads to a discussion of the development of academic freedom in American universities. During the antebellum period, Francis Lieber, a professor at South Carolina College and a political refugee from Germany, felt he

was driven out of the institution at least in part because of suspicion that he harbored "incorrect" views on slavery. Lieber who had arrived in the United States in 1827, taught at South Carolina College from 1835 to 1855. Although Lieber himself owned slaves, he gained a reputation of being opposed to slavery. Eventually in the mid 1850s he resigned from the College because he had been passed over for election to the presidency. Lieber blamed "bitter Calvinism" and his peculiar views on the "peculiar" institution for his defeat (Freidel, 1947).

Economic market considerations have had a lot to do with the exercise of what David Reisman has called "academic autocracy." In times when the seller's market prevails a freedom-seeking or outspoken professor with disciplinary and cosmopolitan contacts (in addition to local ties) can exercise a modicum of "personal veto power" simply by threatening to go elsewhere and, if push comes to shove, actually being able to go somewhere else. This option or bargaining resource becomes less and less viable with each new contraction of the national economy and of the academic marketplace. With a decline of the safety-valve of mobility, college faculty may turn with greater frequency to collective bargaining and other group action for job security, guarantees and protections of academic freedom. (the best general historical treatment of the development of academic freedom in the United States is Hofstadter and Metzger, 1955).

Since universities are ideally places of reading, writing, speaking, teaching and truth-seeking, conditions of academic freedom and civil liberty are important elements of the price of labor in academia. Generally, in the Northern states the principal cause of friction involving faculty tenure and academic freedom has been economic radicalism. In Southern colleges and universities, on another hand, the three chief causes for faculty dismissals (other than the sheer inability of an institution to meet its faculty payroll-which is called "financial exigency" in the language of modern bureaucracy) were: "religious fundamentalism - especially over evolution and the conflict of science and religion - and questioning of the bi-racial setup of the South... although in a few cases a wrong interpretation of the Civil war has also led to unemployment" (Ezell 1963:274).

In positing a nexus between politicians and academic researchers we do not intend to suggest that Strangelovian Drs. Kissinger, Brzezinski Glazer, and Moynihan somehow "dictate" the policy choices of elected and unelected government officials; nor do we posit an abject "he who pays the piper calls the tune" kind of relationship between scholars and political and business elites. The relationship between partisan politics and putatively ivory tower intellectuals has been best described using the metaphor of the drunk and the lamp-post. A drunken individual usually looks to the lamp-post as something to lean on rather than as a source for illumination. The sudden popularity of The Road to Serfdom, a scholarly monograph written by Friedrich A. Hayek, is a case in point. Hayek, who has been described as a "severely intellectual" Austrian-born economist (Goldman 1960:7-8) was surprised to find himself the darling of the corporate world and a popular lecturer before anti-New Deal groups. The 2,000 copies printed by the University of Chicago Press

quickly disappeared at the bookstores and large quantities of subsequent printings were purchased in bulk by a number of American corporations.

Another case involved the dismissal of Homer Rainey from the presidency of the University of Texas. Paraphrasing Bernard DeVoto, Goldman (1960:7) explained that "basically Rainey was dismissed because of his New Dealish opinions and his insistence on academic freedom for subordinates. The case resulted from a rapidly spreading doctrine of 'ruthless industry and finance' (Devoto's phrase) which equated both free inquiry and New Dealism with Communism."

It is tempting to view the decade of the 1970s as a kind of instant replay of the 1930s. We note the similarity of both the issues and the rhetoric of the "conservative" viewpoints of both decades as paraphrased by DeVoto, liberal critic of what might be called anti-New Dealism or anti-welfare statism.

Of course, this similarity of rhetoric and issues may simply be the reflection of the continuity and historicity of the conservative tradition in the United States or, as we suspect, the ebb and flow of the tradition may be loosely linked to the peaks and valleys of the business cycle. Stellar cases of a similar nature in the 1970s include the battle for tenure waged by sociologist Harry Edwards at the University of California at Berkeley (despite the publication of three books and over forty articles), Yale's blocking of Communist historian Herbert Aptheker's temporary appointment to conduct a house seminar on W.E.B. DuBois (whose personal correspondence Aptheker edited in positively reviewed volumes published by the University of Massachusetts Press) and the blocking of the appointment of Bertell Ollman, an avowed Marxist, but a highly regarded political scientist, to the chairmanship of the department at The University of Maryland.

Occassionally university faculty in one or another of the seventeen legally "separate but equal" states drew the wrath of politicians for holding integrationist views. Governor Eugene Talmadge launched a campaign which for a brief period resulted in a total restructuring of the Georgia Board of Regents. In 1941 Talmadge, acting on charges made by a disgruntled faculty member, tried to get the Georgia Board of Regents to dismiss the Dean of the College of Education at the University of Georgia for advocating teaching blacks and whites together in the same classrooms. When the Boards of Regents, much to its credit, refused to dismiss the offending faculty member, Talmadge proceeded to restructure the Board and to dismiss the faculty member. Simultaneously Talmadge launched a campaign to purge the University of Georgia of Communists and "foreigners" the latter defined as non-Georgians (Bailes, 1969).

Several scholars have argued that a serious deterioration of academic freedom occurred during what Goldman dubbed "the crucial decade" from 1945-1955 (See Lazarsfeld 1958 and A.A.U.P. Bulletin volume 44, the latter provides details on 9 cases in which professors were penalized for current or former political affiliations).

Our cursory overview of the nature and dynamics of scholarship put to the use of rationalizing racial dominance suggests that the sociology of academic knowledge about ethnic group relations is a valuable component of any discussion of the fate of Black Americans in this nation's higher educational institutions.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER II.

1/ We have adopted the convention of capitalizing Black Americans when that phrase appears as a unit. In all other instances the lower case has been used for the word "black" as in "black faculty", "blacks", "black institutions" and so forth.

2/ Documentary History of American Higher Education edited by Hofstadter and Smith contains one mention of Negroes in 2 volumes of documents tracing the development of U.S. higher education. That reference comes in a citation from the statement on equal opportunity in a democracy contained in the report of a Presidential task force. There is no documentation of the history of traditionally black colleges and universities).

3/ Jones, a historian with training in sociology, was a graduate student at Brown University working on a master's thesis when the article was written. The thrust of his paper is that black historians and others wishing to use "white sources" to understand black people may benefit substantially from the sociological construct called The Sociology of Knowledge. The bulk of the article deals with the nature of the proofs of black inferiority using the following three ideal-types: 1) the sociological approach, 2) the psychological approach and 3) the physiological approach.

III. METHODOLOGY

Sampling Strategy

The reliable and valid measurement of these comprehensive constructs--split labor market and ethnic antagonism--is essential for testing the general hypotheses and judging the adequacy of our conceptual framework. Therefore, this study combines a number of methodological approaches often used in the social sciences. We have taken Denzin's admonition (1978:28) that if social science research projects are to be worthwhile, social scientists must employ triangulation-multiple methodological procedures and checking to see if the results from these various procedures lead to the same conclusion.

In order to explore and describe these general constructs and their usefulness, we have developed multiple methodologies which include: (1) careful examination of historical records and previous research, (2) review and analyses of data from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and the Office for Civil Rights for the Southern Region (12 Southern States), (3) a survey of trustees, administrators and faculty, and (4) structured interviews of personnel at selected institutions. Each data source added reliability to the tests of our hypotheses. To the degree that each methodology leads us to the same conclusion, we may then have additional confidence in the results and the test of our theory.

The data requested from EEOC came from the following reports:

1)	EEO-6	Higher Education Staff Information
2)	EEO-6 Supplement	Higher Education Staff Information Part V

The specific states included in the EEOC data set were: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisianna, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia.

Additionally, Office for Civil Rights data were requested for each state involved with the Adams et al litigation. The states included in the litigation in the Southeast are: Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia.

The data requested[1/] included:

1)	A16	New Employees in Institutions of Higher Education
2)	A3	Retirements, Resignation & Dismissals
3)	A4	Promotions of Employees in Institutions of Higher Education
4)	A2a	Employees of State Agencies and Governing Boards of Higher Education
5)	A2b	New Employees of State Agencies and Governing Boards of Higher Education
6)	A5	Composition of Governing Boards for Higher Education

These data enable our project to develop demographic profiles of traditionally black and traditionally white colleges and universities in the Southeast. The factors included in the profile were: (1) race/sex distribution, (2) retention profiles, and (3) promotion and advancement profiles for race-sex categories. These data facilitated comparison within and across institutional types. See Chapter IV.

Narrowing the number of Southeastern institutions of higher education to twelve (6 traditionally black and 6 traditionally white) enabled us to gather data from trustees, administrators, and faculty at each of the selected institutions. (The operational definitions and the actual questionnaire items are covered in the instrumentation section of this Chapter.) We began our selection process by examining alternate classification taxonomies.

While no single classification schema for American colleges and universities is satisfactory for all of the purposes to which such classification systemsare usually put, the system developed by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education was found to be the most adequate starting point. In 1970, recognizing "the need for a classification of institutions of higher education that would be more useful for purposes of analysis than existing classifications" the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education "sought to identify categories of colleges and universities that would be relatively homogeneous with respect to the functions of the institutions as well as with respect to characteristics of students and faculty members." (1973:V) Utilizing the source document (A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education: A Technical Report, 1973) for this classification schema, examining enrollment data using the National Center for Educational Statistics HEGIS XII (Degrees conferred July 1, 1976 through June 20, 1977), and examining the Education Directory, Colleges and Universities, more than 100 historically black colleges and universities were identified in five (5) Carnegie Code categories. These institutions ranged from "Doctoral- ranting niversities" to "Two ear olleges and nstitutes." More specifically, the type of institutions included:

1.3 Doctoral-Granting Universities I. These institutions awarded 40 or more Ph.D.'s in 1969-70 (plus M.D.'s if on the same campus) or received at least $3 million in total federal financial support in either 1969-70 or 1970-71. No institution is included that granted fewer than 20 Ph.D.'s (plus M.D's if on the same campus), regardless of the amount of federal financial support it received.

2.1 Comprehensive Universities and Colleges I. This group includes institutions that offered a liberal arts program as well as several other programs, such as engineering and business administration. Many of them offered master's degrees, but all lacked a doctoral program or had an extremely limited doctoral program.

all institutions in this group had at least two professional or occupational programs and enrolled at least 2,000 students in 1970. If an institution's enrollment was smaller than this, it was not considered comprehensive.

2.2 Comprehensive Universities and Colleges II. This list includes state colleges and some private colleges that offered a liberal arts program and at least one professional or occupational program such as teacher training or nursing. Many of the institutions in this group are former teachers colleges that have recently broadened their programs to include a liberal arts curriculum. Private institutions with fewer than 1,500 students and public institutions with fewer than 1,000 students.

3.2 Liberal Arts Colleges II. These institutions include all the liberal arts colleges that did not meet our criteria for inclusion in the first group of liberal arts colleges. Again, the distinction between "liberal arts" and "Comprehensive" is not clear-cut for some of the larger colleges in this group and is necessarily partly a matter of judgment.

In addition, many liberal arts colleges are extensively involved in teacher training, but future teachers tend to receive their degrees in arts and science fields, rather than in education.

4. Two-Year Colleges and Institutions

Ten (10) traditionally black institutions were tentatively chosen. Data about each selected institution (i.e., Carnegie Code, method of control--public vs. private, and locale--state) were noted and used in the process of matching each traditionally black institution with traditionally white institutions. An initial set of 10 pairs of institutions was developed using these parameters. For example, black private colleges were matched with white private colleges in the same state. Although some colleges and universities were added to and subtracted from this initial list, trustees, administrators and faculty from six specific matched pairs of historically black and predominantly white colleges and universities in the Southeast were included in the final list and, therefore, in this study.

With the selection of the six pairs of institutions, approximately 100 persons were identified at each institution from the college catalog. By stratifying trustees/administrators/faculty within each institution and using systematic random sampling, ideally 20 trustees, 30 administrators, and 50 faculty were selected. A number of institutions either had less than 20 trustees/board members or had fewer than 30 administrators. When this situation was encountered, the total number of questionnaires sent to any specific institution was reduced accordingly.

A slightly different procedure was utilized at predominantly white colleges and universities. In addition to stratifying employees/trustees at each campus and systematically random sampling within each strata, an effort was made to identify and survey all minority persons. This process was necessitated by the limited number (generally less than 5 percent) of minority employees holding trustee/administrative/faculty positions at such institutions. Even using such a technique, relatively few minorities were included in the analyses from such campuses.

Of the 1,086 questionnaires and follow-up post cards sent to all potential respondents at these 12 institutions, 35 were returned by the post office as undeliverable and 353 questionnaires were returned by respondents, a response rate of 33.6%. Since the college catalogs were used as the basic sampling frame document, further analysis of one of these institutions revealed that 15% of the subjects were no longer employed by the institution. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the actual response rate for this study was closer to 50%.

Additional data were gathered from some of these twelve institutions by either telephone interview or personal interviews. As Sellitz (1961:61) has pointed out, interviewing is well suited for tracing the evolution and growth of a social problem and is a technique which allows consideration of pertinent aspects of a situation. The method also allowed for the penetration of the interesting, though highly subjective, personal experiences of a number of individuals involved in the situation being studied. More specifically, data were gathered from individuals in a series of interviews which were conducted at 7 institutions--three traditionally black and four traditionally white.

About three weeks before our scheduled arrival at each institution we mailed a form letter to 164 individuals at six institutions. The letter indicated the days we would be visiting their respective campuses, outlined the major topics we wished to discuss and provided a returnable form on which they could indicate whether they would be able to meet with us during our visit to their campus. The major topics outlined in the letter included:

1. What do you consider the historical mission of this institution to be? In what way do the goals of desegregation and integration correlate or conflict with its historical mission? How have economic and social forces affected the desegregation and integration processes?

2. Is there a specific affirmative action/equal employment opportunity (AA/EEO) program at this institution? If yes, how is the AA/EEO program structured? What are its short range and ultimate goals? What has been the impact of the AA/EEO program at your institution?

3. In general terms, what has been the process of administrative and faculty desegregation at this institution? Is it a recent phenomenon or a long standing tradition? How has the process progressed?

4. What is the relationship between the goals of this institution and your professional goals? Indeed, how do you view factors affecting promotions, opportunities for employment, job satisfaction, allocation of resources to participate in research related activities, attending professional meetings, etc.?

This letter requesting an interview was sent to four randomly selected trustees--two who had and two who had not returned the questionnaire--and to four key administrators at each of the institutions (Presidents, Vice Presidents for Academic Affairs, Vice Presidents for university relations and either the Affirmative Action Officer or the Director of the Upward Bound or similar programs). Next, the letter was sent to a random sample of 6 other administrators at each institution including 3 who had returned questionnaires and 3 who had not. A random sample of 60 faculty (10 from each institution including 5 who had previously returned a questionnaire and 5 who had not) were sent letters requesting interviews. In order to maximize our chances of having interviews with the very small number of black faculty working at traditionally white institutions, we sent letters requesting interviews to all black faculty on the mailing list from which the original survey sample was drawn. Finally, we requested interviews from minority faculty at traditionally black and white institutions who had completed a questionnaire.

Fifteen of the people we personally interviewed were white and 9 were black. Seventeen of the 24 individuals we interviewed were affiliated with traditionally black institutions. We were most successful in obtaining access, open assistance and completed interviews with individuals affiliated with traditionally black institutions. It was our subjective impression that we were more warmly and openly received at the traditionally black institutions than at the traditionally white institutions we visited. For example, one private traditionally white institution we visited was pervaded by a coolness toward heavy involvement in federal grants and subsidies. The bluntest, but not necessarily the most representative, expression of this posture came in a short-lived interview with a trustee of that institution who immediately terminated the interview upon learning that our research was funded by a federal contract. The president of the institution seems to be philosophically cautious about the entanglements of federal contracts and grants in a manner reminiscent of the stance of George Roche, president of Hillsdale College, Michigan which as a matter of policy, accepts no federal grants or subsidies. Several faculty members we talked with commented upon what they perceived as the President's consistent desire to avoid the entanglements, intrusion, and costly paperwork that he felt accompanied many forms of federal funding. Although the institution had experienced acute financial distress within the last several decades, the current

president was viewed as a skillful administrator who was also quite successful at raising funds from private and corporate sources.

Among the 24 individuals we interviewed were 3 trustees, 2 presidents, 4 other administrators (including department heads, associate deans and vice-presidents for academic affairs), 2 affirmative action officers, 2 non-faculty professional employees and 10 faculty members in various fields (including English, art, biology, mathematics, education, chemistry, foreign languages, and economics).

Instrumentation

For the survey, a questionnaire was developed which was used to collect data about each of the major constructs. Given the institutional setting, those factors identified as most directly affecting the price of labor and the individual's willingness to accept employment were:

1. The desire to work in a person's field.
2. The perceived tightness of the job market.
3. Employment of spouse/other significant individual in the area--limiting employment alternatives for highly trained significant others.

A set of seven (7) items was developed and used to examine why respondents chose to accept employment at their institution. Respondents were asked to use the four alternatives from "not at all important" through "very important" in determining the degree of importance in their choice to accept employment. The items were:

1. The opportunity to work in my chosen field.
2. An opportunity to work with a racially integrated faculty.
3. An opportunity to continue my education at a nearby university.
4. The tightness of the job market.
5. Employment of my spouse/other significant person in the geographic area.
6. An opportunity to work with a predominantly black or white student body.
7. An opportunity to work in my home town.

Alternately one must also examine the motivation of employers. Using Osgood's semantic differential method, a set of nine "polar" opposites" (e.g., younger-older, not holding terminal degree-holding terminal degree) was developed which tapped the administration and trustees' values and parameters used in deciding employment of faculty or administrators. Respondents who were involved in the hiring process were asked to circle a number from 1 through 7 which was typed on a line spaced in equal intervals between the polar opposite alternatives. This set of items facilitated an examination of the importance of some of the variables used in making hiring decisions (See Table III-2-1).

Additionally, the background variables of a person such as:

1. Demographic variables (race, sex, age, marital status)
2. Family background variables (parent's education)
3. Educational background variables (highest degree, year degree earned, institution where earned highest degree)
4. Employment history variables (where first professionally employed, professional employment immediately before coming to this institution, professional employment at historically Black institutions)

TABLE III-2-1

SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL ITEMS AND THEIR VARIABLES

Variable	Items	
	First Polar Extreme	Second Polar Extreme
Experience	Experienced	Not Experienced
Age	Younger	Older
Degree	Not holding Terminal Degree	Holding Terminal Degree
Birth Place	American Native Born	Foreign Born
Race	White	Black
Sex	Female	Male
Collegiate Experience	Attended a college similar to this one	Did not attend a similar college
Political Activity	Politically Active	Politically Inactive
Research Activity	Research Unimportant	Research Emphases

were identified as most salient in affecting the price of labor in higher educational institutions. Separate and distinct items were developed to capture these data. See the attached copy of the questionnaire in Appendix I.

The construct of the price of labor has typically been defined in terms of dollars. For faculty/administrators, employment data which were identified as essential were:

1. Current salary
2. Employment status (full time vs. part time)
3. Number of months employed

Additional factors identified as impacting salary for faculty were:

1. Rank
2. Years at current rank at this institution
3. Tenure status
4. Department/discipline/specialty area
5. Administrative responsibilities
6. Publishing record

Additional factors identified as affecting salary for administrative personnel were:

1. Type of position/work tasks
2. Number of years employed as an administrator
3. Number of years employed as a faculty member (if any) at this campus.

Specific items were developed which tapped each of these factors.

However, it must be noted that the construct--"price of labor" must be defined beyond the issue of wages. More specifically, the construct of the price of labor was operationally defined to include also, (1) job satisfaction and (2) alienation data.[2/] What is suggested here is that the price of labor has a social psychological component which must be measured. Factors identified as salient in job satisfaction included:

1. Cooperation from the people one works with at the institution
2. Supervisor support on controversial issues
3. Perceived fairness in the system of promotions
4. Perceived security in the job
5. Perceived "respect" from the community
6. Satisfaction with the kind of work one does, the salary (in relations to assigned duties) one is paid, the feeling of worthwhile accomplishment.
7. The intention to remain at the institution

A set of eleven Likert-type items was carefully constructed which measured job satisfaction. Respondents were asked to indicate their degree of agreement (from (1) Strongly Disagree to (4) Strongly Agree) to each item. The items included are:

1. The actual duties of my job are challenging.
2. I have gotten little cooperation from the people I work with at this institution.[3/]
3. My salary is comparable with salaries for similar work at other institutions.
4. My immediate supervisor has supported my stand on controversial issues.
5. When people in the community learn where I am employed, they usually respond with respect.
6. I have gained a feeling of worthwhile accomplishment from my job at this institution.
7. If a similar job became available elsewhere, I would take it.[3/]
8. The system of promotions at this institution is fair.
9. Most of the time I feel secure in my job.
10. I have received too little recognition from my colleagues at this institution.[3/]
11. I like the kind of work I do at this institution.

In the development of the scale it is important to note item patterns. Generally, respondents indicated a substantial degree of job satisfaction ($\bar{X}$ = 3.09) with most individuals finding their job challenging ($\bar{X}$ = 3.5), salary competitive ($\bar{X}$ = 3.4), unwilling to take a job elsewhere ($\bar{X}$ = 3.3), and a cooperative set of people with which to work ($\bar{X}$ = 3.1). Respondents expressed least satisfaction in the degree to which supervisory personnel supported respondents on contraversial issues ($\bar{X}$ = 2.5), job security ($\bar{X}$ = 2.7) and community respect ($\bar{X}$ = 3.0). All other items fell between these two extremes. Using all eleven items, respondents indicated general job satisfaction ($\bar{X}$ = 3.09 average item mean, $\bar{X}$ = 34.00 scale mean) across all items and general consistency in all responses (Crombach's Alpha = .787). (See Table III-2).

The use of the construct of alientation and its consequent measurement has held a central place in sociological and psychological literature. Robinson and Shaver (1973) noted that "The concept of alienation has become one of the most widely used---terms of our time" (p. 245). Zeller (1980:1195) has demonstrated the high degree of realiability and scale score stability over time of alienation measures. One of the better scales developed to measure this concept was constructed by Middleton (1963). Drawing heavily upon the conceptual distinctions made by Seeman (1962), Middleton developed a series of items which centered around:

1. Powerlessness
2. Meaninglessness
3. Normlessness
4. Social Estrangement
5. Work Estrangement
6. Cultural Estrangement

TABLE III-2-2. SCALE ANALYSES* AND SUMMARY STATISTICS

Scale Name	Initial Number of Items	Final Number of Items	Number** of Cases	Cronbach's Alpha	Inter-item Correlation Mean	Scale Mean	Scale Standard Deviation	Scale Mean/ Number of Items
Job Satis-faction	11	11	280****	.787	.263	34.00	4.53	3.09
Alienation	8	7	311	.805	.380	13.35	3.65	1.91
Authority ***(power-decision)	3	3	315	.103	.049	5.42	1.31	1.81
(Use of Authority)	3	3	315	.721	.462	7.90	2.00	2.63
Ethnic Antago-nism and Affirmative Action	7	5	298	.719	.337	11.27	2.86	2.25

* The construction of each scale was predicated on maximizing the internal consistency across all item. Therefore maximizing Cronbach's Alpha was used as the decision rule to omit specific items.
** Individuals who did not answer all of the scale questions were omitted from this analyses.
*** Scale considered unreliable, individual items will be examined.
**** Excludes trustees.

Middleton developed one Likert-type item for each concept. Respondents were forced to choose between "Agree" and "Disagree" for each statement.

These items and response alternatives were modified so that each of these concepts was measured within the college/university setting. Additional items were created to further measure the concept of Social Estrangement. The specific items used in the questionnaire were:

1. There is much that I can do about most of the important problems that we face at this institution.[3] (Powerlessness)
2. Things have become so complicated at the institution that I really don't understand what is going on. (Meaningless)
3. In order to get ahead at the institution, you are almost forced to do some things which are unprofessional. (Normlessness)
4. I am quite interested in the cultural events (e.g. plays, speeches, etc.) at this institution.[3] (Cultural Estrangement)
5. At this institution, I often feel alone. (Social Estrangement)
6. I feel "at home" at this institution.[3] (Social Estrangement)
7. I am proud to be a member of this campus community.[3] (Social Estrangement)
8. I do not really enjoy most of the work that I do at this institution, but I feel that I must do it in order to have other things that I need and want. (Work Estrangement)

The item on cultural estrangement was not correlated with the other alienation items and was therefore, eliminated from the scale. For the remaining items, most respondents rejected a sense of alienation from the institution. They indicated that: they were proud to be a member of the institution ($\bar{X}$ = 1.7), they enjoyed their work ($\bar{X}$ = 1.7), and they felt "at home" ($\bar{X}$ = 1.8). Only on the item measuring powerlessness was considerable alienation present ($\bar{X}$ = 2.5). Therefore, overall scale scores indicate little alienation ($\bar{X}$ = 1.91 average item mean, $\bar{X}$ = 13.35 scale mean) by most respondents and general consistency across all items (Crombach's Alpha = .805).

A number of items were created also which tapped the degree to which respondents were willing to share authority. That is the Employer Class (Board Members, Trustees), Higher Labor Class (Administrators), and Cheaper Labor Class (faculty) were asked to indicate how important was input from each group, who shall have decision-making power, and how much power shall each group have. The Likert-type items included were:

1. Decisions about the future of this institution must be made solely on the basis of legislative or Board of Director's mandate.

2. The administrators on this campus have too little to say about what happens at this institution.

3. The ordinary faculty member should have a chance to say how things should run at this institution.[3]

The items did not correlate well (Alpha = .103) and therefore will be examined individually. Additionally, items were created which measured respondents' perception of the legitimacy (after Fox, 1977:968-969) of authority. These items included:

1. At this institution, people in positions of authority sometimes take unfair advantage of their positions.

2. The institution abides by "due process" procedures in all matters.

3. The people with authority at this institution just don't know what is going on a lot of the time.

Respondents generally felt about the same for all items (lowest $\bar{X}$ = 2.5, highest $\bar{X}$ = 2.8) with little variation on any item (standard deviation ranged from .80 to .86). With only three items, Alpha was equal to .721, indicating moderate correlation among the items.

The final important construct to be operationalized was the concept of ethnic antagonism. A series of seven Likert-type items was developed to measure this construct and its concomitant belief system. The included items[4/] were:

1. My institution should develop and implement more activities specifically to recruit minority (Blacks on White campus/ Whites on Black campus) students.

2. It is essential that this institution increase the number and proportion of minority (Blacks on White/White on Black campus) faculty.

3. Minorities who hold "requisite credentials" should be appointed to visible top administrative posts.

4. At this institution we must work toward full integration across all faculty and administrative positions.

5. Programs which will recruit large numbers of minority (Blacks on White campus/Whites on Black Campus) students should be resisted.

6. In making decisions about employment it is important to give preferential treatment to Whites at predominantly White institutions.

7. In making decisions about employment it is important to give preferential treatment to Blacks at historically Black institutions.

Responses to items six and seven were substantially different from the remaining items. This required the exclusion of these items from the scale. Examining all respondents, item means indicated centrality

($\bar{X}$ = 2.25). Only on one item did respondents indicate preference; they rejected the idea that programs which recruit minority students should be resisted ($\bar{X}$ = 1.8). For the five item scale, Alpha was equal to .719.

Finally, a "thermometer scale"--a picture of a thermometer with a value of zero (0) at the bottom and 100 at the top with a value for each quartile was used to measure respondents perceptions of the degree of racial harmony-racial antagonism in (1) American society, (2) in this community and (3) at this institution. The value of zero was further identified as "total racial integration (i.e., oneness, equality, and total acceptance)" while the value of 100 was labeled "total racial antagonism (i.e., active opposition, hostility, conflict)." Respondents reported mid-range values for American society ($\bar{X}$ = 56.1), standard deviation = 19.23) and for their community ($\bar{X}$ = 53.7, standard deviation = 21.26). For their institution, on the average, respondents reported less antagonism ($\bar{X}$ = 39.6, standard deviation 25.60) than they found in society or their community.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER III.

1/ At the time of this writing, no data had been received from OCR. Data were received from one southeastern state.

2/ A methodological note is necessary. The development and construction of scales is an interactive process which requires an analysis of four basic assumptions: (1) the concept on which an item is based, (2) each item should be well (positively) correlated with the other items, (3) each item should be well correlated with the overall scale score, and (4) all possible split half scores should be highly correlated. An accepted statistical summary of these three latter principles is the use of Cronbach's Alpha. Items for each scale were examined in terms of its impact on the Alpha value. Where items degredated the overall Alpha value, they were dropped from the scale. In four of five scales Cronbach's Alpha was sufficiently high to enable examination of the constructs of this study through the use of scales.

3/ Indicates item scores requiring conversion.

4/ Respondents were given the following additional directions "One word of caution. Please use the term "minority" to indicate:
1. Black-Americans on predominantly White campuses AND
2. White-Americans on predominantly Black campuses.

IV. FINDINGS

Introduction

The direct thrust of this chapter is an examination of the issue of minority vis-a-vis majority status at colleges and universities in the Southeastern United States. We shall explicitly explore how each group's position, status, and role correlates with and impacts upon the cost-reward continuum. More explictly, we are examining the impact of being in: (1) the numeric minority (blacks affiliated with traditionally white institutions (TWIs) and whites affiliated with traditionally black institutions (TBIs)), and (2) the numeric majority (blacks affiliated with TBIs and whites affiliated with TWIs). Additionally, we shall note the impact of who holds what position (e.g., blacks holding super-ordinate-administrative positions while whites holding sub-ordinate faculty positions at TBIs and whites holding super-ordinate positions while blacks holding sub-ordinate positions at TWIs). We shall explore how such position impacts: (1) the reward system of salaries, tenure, retention, (2) job satisfaction, (3) institutional alienation, (4) perceptions of authority, (5) perceptions of ethnic antagonism, and (6) the perceived need for institutional change in terms of the composition of racial groups which occupy what positions at TBIs and TWIs.

In making this investigation, we shall take into account not only minority/majority status, but also the factors of the role, scope and nature (mission, resources, status) of the institution--as measured by its Carnegie Code, the organizational position (trustee, administrator, or faculty member) held by the respondents, and the respondents' academic training and credentials--as measured by academic degree.

A caveat to the reader. We do not argue that the numeric minority vis-a-vis numeric majority when overlayed with super-subordination factors at institutions of higher education are the only forces influencing the treatment and perceptions of professional employees. In addition to these positional factors, we acknowledge the impact of general economic, political and social forces in American society as they inpinge on institutions of post secondary education and on our respondents. Indeed, we have argued these points throughout the manuscript; that institutions of higher education reflect and are active agents in determining the social, economic and political forces of American society. Such forces shape the experiences and attitudes of all persons.

We believe that institutions, and especially those of higher education, mediate the interaction between the individual and the larger society. People's experiences within specific institutions are important factors in determining behavior and attitudes. Our exploration, therefore, of ethnic relations is examined within the institutional setting of higher education in the Southeastern United States.

Our major sources of data for this study, as indicated in the methodology section of this manuscript, came from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEO-6 reports for 1977), our survey of 12 paired traditionally black and traditionally white institutions, and our open-ended interviews with personnel at six of these 12 traditionally black and traditionally white institutions.

For the 12 Southeastern states, 702 institutions were carried on the 1977 EEO-6 data file. We were able to match 656 (93.4%) of these institutions with appropriate Carnegie Codes and institutional tradition (race) codes. Of these 656 institutions, 96 (14.6%) institutions carried specialized Carnegie Codes (medical schools, schools of theology, etc.) and were eliminated from this analysis. A total of 560 of 702 (79.8%) institutions was used in the analysis reported below. Of these 560 colleges and universities, 68 (12.14%) were identified as traditionally black and 492 (87.89%) were identified as traditionally white. Classification by Carnegie Code showed: 44 1/ Doctoral Granting Institutions, 80 Comprehensive Universities I, 38 Comprehensive Universities II, 166 Liberal Arts Colleges, and 232 Two Year Colleges. Finally, only black and white professionals are included in this analyses.

In terms of our survey of 12 paired institutions, it is important to note that we received completed questionnaires at an equal rate from persons employed/affiliated with traditionally black and traditionally white institutions. Indeed, approximately half of the completed questionnaires were returned from each type of institution. (See Table 4.1) The response rate by Carnegie Code indicated that those persons affiliated with Comprehensive University Is were most (44.9%) likely to return the questionnaire while those affiliated at the community college level were least (20.8%) likely to return the completed instrument. The low response rate from two year institutions may reflect the larger proportion of part-time employees.

Examining the response rate by the institutional position of the respondents indicated that, for the major categories, administrators were most (42.0%) likely to complete the questionnaire while trustees were least (12.6%) likely to complete the questionnaire. Faculty response rate was between these two extremes.

Thus, the response rates indicate that we may have considerable confidence in comparisons by institutional tradition and most Carnegie Code categories. Comparisons across aggregation of respondents' institutional status is most appropriate between administrators and faculty.

Finally, it is interesting to note the distribution of responses by majority/minority status. More than 75% of the respondents were either black at traditionally black institutions or white at traditionally white institutions. More than 12% of the respondents were white and affiliated with traditionally black institutions while more than 5% of the respondents were black affiliated with traditionally white institutions. The sampling methodology accomplished the goal of achieving sufficient number of cases to draw reliable conclusions.

TABLE 4.1 QUESTIONNAIRES RETURNED BY INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION, CARNEGIE CODE, RESPONDENT'S INSTITUTIONAL STATUS AND MAJORITY/MINORITY STATUS

Variable	Categories	Frequency Count	Percent	Total Mailed	Percent Returned of all Mailed[1]
Total		353	100.0	1,086	32.5
Institutional Tradition	Black Institutions	181	51.3	551	32.8
	White Institutions	172	48.7	535	32.1
Carnegie Code*	Univ-Doc (1.3)	46	13.0	196	23.5
	Comp Univ I (2.1)	162	45.9	361	44.9
	Comp Univ II (2.2)	50	14.2	169	29.6
	Liberal Arts II (3.2)	60	17.0	192	31.2
	Two Year College (4.0)	35	9.9	168	20.8
Respondent's Institutional Status	Administrator	140	39.7	333	42.0
	Faculty	182	51.6	557	32.7
	Professional Non-Faculty[2]	8	2.3	13	61.5
	Trustee	23	6.5	183	12.6
Respondent's Majority/ Minority Status	Bk Bk Institutions	134	38.0		
	Wh Bk Institutions	43	12.2		
	Wh Wh Institutions	132	37.4		
	Bl Wh Institutions	20	5.7		
	Others	24	6.8		

*Two institutions were selected from each Carnegie Code except for Comprehensive University I which included four institutions.

1. See methodology section for a more complete discussion of response rates.

2. Due to the limited number of professional non-faculty personnel surveyed, persons in this category were excluded from the questionnaire analysis.

Examining the Split Labor Market
A Look at Southeastern Data

Minority professional personnel were neither equally nor proportionately represented at Southeastern Colleges and Universities across all Carnegie Codes. For traditionally black colleges, whites had proportionately the largest concentration (26.4%) at Comprehensive Universities and the smallest (19.5%) at Two Year Colleges. All but two (2.9%) traditionally black colleges had at least one white professional (administrator, faculty or professional non-faculty) person on their staff. On the average, the number of minority personnel at all TBIs was 33 professionals out of 167 professional employees or approximately 21% of all professional TBI employees were white.

The distribution of black professionals at traditionally white colleges is neither equal nor consistent. At least one black professional was most likely to be found at Doctoral Granting Institutions (97.7%) and least likely (41.0%) to be found at Liberal Arts Colleges. Typically, black professionals made up less than 4% of all professionals at TWIs at Southeastern colleges and universities. (See Table 4.2). Although it appeared that there would be a positive correlation between broad institutional mission and degree of exclusion of minorities, we have found quite the opposite. We have found that, based on 1977 EEO-6 data, the broader the mission of the college as measured by its Carnegie Code, the greater the probability of employing at least one minority professional employee. In part, this reflects a public vis-a'-vis private difference; excluding two year colleges, the colleges and universities with graduate programs were more likely to be public institutions (85% of Comprehensive University Is were public while only 8.4% of Liberal Arts Colleges were public). On the average, only 9 professional minority persons were employed at all TWIs out of 252 professional employees, or 3.6% of all TWI professional employees were black. This percent was substantially below the regional population average of 20% black.

An examination of the distribution of minority vis-a'-vis majority professional employees within Southeastern colleges and universities showed disproportionate and non-inclusionary practices. At TBIs whites were proportionately less likely to hold executive-managerial-administrative responsibilities than were their black counterparts. (See Table 4.3). On the average, only 5% of all professional whites held administrative positions while 20% of all professional blacks at such institutions held such positions. Our survey of 6 TBIs showed that even those whites who held administrative posts at TBIs were most likely to hold academic departmental posts or specialized posts--heading up an institutional research office. Rarely did they participate in a senior academic post--e.g. dean, vice-president, etc. On the average (See Table 4.3) more than 80% of all whites were employed as faculty and more than 10% as professional non-faculty members. Comprehensive University Is included the fewest whites as executives and administrators (4.7%) while TBI Comprehensive University IIs included the most (7.4%). Therefore, minority whites even though they made up a large portion of the faculty, were generally not included in Executive-Administrative-Managerial positions at TBIs.

TABLE 2. INSTITUTIONS OF THE SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES BY CARNEGIE CODE AND INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION: 1977*

Carnegie Code**	Institutional Tradition									
	Traditionally Black					Traditionally White				
	Number of Institutions		Average N of Black and White Employees	Average N and Institutional Proportion of Minority Employees	Average N and Institutional Proportion of Majority Employees	Number of Institutions		Average N of Black and White Employees	Average N and Institutional Proportion of Minority Employees	Average N and Institutional Proportion of Majority Employees
	Total Percent	Percent with Minorities				Total Percent	Percent with Minorities			
Total (N = 560)	100.1	97.1	(167)	(35)	(132)	99.9	75.6	(252)	(9)	(241)
1.0 Doctoral Granting Institutions***	None	-	-	-	-	8.9	97.7	1,395 (983)	26 (61) .035 (.021)	1,344 (947) .965 (.021)
2.1 Comprehensive University I	29.4	100.0	303 (101)	67 (35) .226 (.126)	236 (85) .774 (.126)	12.2	95.0	376 (376)	12 (28) .027 (.023)	365 (350) .973 (.023)
2.2 Comprehensive University II	11.8	100.0	226 (200)	42 (25) .264 (.252)	184 (197) .734 (.252)	6.1	66.7	199 (157)	5 (9) .018 (.016)	194 (149) .982 (.016)
3.0 Liberal Arts I & II	47.1	97.0	99 (46)	21 (17) .206 (.108)	78 (3) .794 (.108)	27.2	41.0	83 (44)	3 (14) .027 (.120)	80 (43) .973 (.120)
4.0 Two Year Colleges	11.8	87.5	40 (32)	7 (4) .195 (.156)	33 (30) .805 (.156)	45.5	86.6	102 (107)	9 (15) .082 (.123)	93 (98) .918 (.127)
TOTAL NUMBER	68					492				

NOTE: Except on the first row, numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

* Source: EEO-6 report for 1977. Includes only full-time professional personnel (FAM, Faculty, and Professional Non-Faculty personnel) employed in the Southeastern United States.

** Of the 702 Southeastern institutions listed on the EEO-6 file, 46 (6.6%) were not listed on the Carnegie Commission Report, and were, therefore, excluded from the analysis. Additionally, 96 (13.7%) carried speciality Carnegie Codes (theology institutions, medical schools, etc.) and were excluded from the analysis since many institutions are uniquely identifiable.

*** Also includes 6 central state university system wide offices.

TABLE 4.3 DISTRIBUTION OF PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES AT DESEGREGATED INSTITUTIONS OF THE SOUTHEAST BY CARNEGIE CODE AND INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION: 1977*

Carengie Code	Position Type	Institutional Tradition: Traditionally Black — N of Institutions	Minority Proportion	Majority Proportion	Difference Proportion	Traditionally White — N of Institutions	Minority Proportion	Majority Proportion	Difference Proportion
Doctoral Granting	Total	None				43	.999	1.000	
	Executive, Administrator, Manager						.225 (.248)	.175 (.156)	.050 (.137)
	Faculty						.341 (.211)	.550 (.206)	-.208 (.152)
	Professional Non-Faculty						.433 (.241)	.275 (.134)	-.158 (.209)
Comprehensive University I	Total	20	1.000	1.000		54	1.000	1.000	
	Executive, Administrator, Manager		.047 (.045)	.163 (.070)	-.116 (.061)		.164 (.222)	.160 (.051)	.004 (.210)
	Faculty		.856 (.102)	.630 (.090)	.226 (.083)		.613 (.256)	.713 (.085)	-.100 (.237)
	Professional Non-Faculty		.097 (.086)	.207 (.077)	-.111 (.087)		.223 (.191)	.127 (.070)	.096 (.173)
Comprehensive University II	Total	8	1.000	1.000		23	1.001	1.001	
	Executive, Administrator, Manager		.074 (.054)	.221 (.061)	-.153 (.070)		.184 (.295)	.182 (.066)	.002 (.280)
	Faculty		.794 (.062)	.613 (.071)	-.181 (.092)		.521 (.371)	.701 (.091)	-.179 (.372)
	Professional Non-Faculty		.132 (.070)	.160 (.067)	-.028 (.117)		.296 (.344)	.118 (.091)	.178 (.316)
Liberal Arts	Total	31	1.000	1.000		55	1.000	1.000	
	Executive, Administrator, Manager		.070 (.093)	.230 (.146)	-.160 (.160)		.206 (.344)	.184 (.100)	.021 (.327)
	Faculty		.876 (.110)	.509 (.093)	.376 (.118)		.525 (.418)	.675 (.114)	-.151 (.389)
	Professional Non-Faculty		.054 (.071)	.261 (.137)	.207 (.116)		.269 (.364)	.140 (.091)	.129 (.356)
Two Year Colleges	Total	7	1.000	1.001		193	1.001	1.000	
	Executive, Administrator, Manager		.051 (.068)	.367 (.250)	-.296 (.261)		.150 (.196)	.177 (.083)	-.028 (.184)
	Faculty		.779 (.185)	.454 (.144)	.325 (.187)		.624 (.264)	.710 (.104)	-.086 (.259)
	Professional Non-Faculty		.170 (.179)	.200 (.179)	-.030 (.230)		.227 (.250)	.113 (.084)	.114 (.230)

Source: EEO-6 reports for 1977.
Note: All numbers do not sum to exactly 1.00 due to rounding error.

A senior (more than 15 years) white tenured faculty member at a traditionally black institution summarized his perception of the typical pattern. The faculty member noted that the historic and current mission of the school is black oriented. The admissions policy appeals to blacks in the immediate area. "There is a tendency for this institution to be a traditionally black school" emphasizing the need to serve black students. However, over the years, one of the major changes is that "the faculty has become increasingly a white faculty." He attributed these changes to: "the institution is a good school" and "good black educators (were) skimmed-off and they went to northern schools, federal positions, overseas positions. This left openings for qualified whites" to be employed. The change in the racial composition of the faculty at this institution over the past two decades went from less than 20% white to more than 35% white. At the same time, there has been no change in the composition of the administration. "The opportunity for a white faculty member or other (whites) to hold an administrative position at the upper echelon is practically nil. This does not apply to (departmental) chairmanships." He felt that those whites who aspire to administrative posts leave. ..."If a deanship or assistant deanship became available, the idea of putting a white in the position is not really considered."

At traditionally white institutions, the average proportion of blacks who held administrative posts was generally within three percentage points of the average proportion of whites who held administrative posts. (See Table 4.3). For both groups, slightly less than 20% were employed as executive/administrative personnel. Based on our survey of 6 TWIs, the nature of the administrative posts held by minority members was quite different from those held by the majority members. Blacks at TWIs typically held administrative positions such as Affirmative Action/EEO Officer, or directed such programs as Upward Bound or other liason activities to the black community.

A black staff member in a special services program at a private traditionally white institution described the typical scene. She viewed the college as an institution which firmly believed in community service and working with all kinds of people. Where special programs for the community and minority students were concerned, she felt, "the school bends over backwards to provide support." This support was provided through Upward Bound and the Center for Minority Student Affairs, areas in which a number of the blacks classified as "administrative personnel" at this institution are clustered.

Additionally although blacks were typically employed at TWIs as faculty, they were much more likely to be employed in professional non-faculty positions than their white counterparts. The black administrator mentioned above went on to note that successful recruiting of black faculty, still lagged behind the student body and administrative hiring. One critical factor was the relatively lower salary levels available for faculty both compared with administrative salaries at the same institution and with faculty salaries at other nearby institutions. Furthmore, an interview with a white faculty

member in the sciences at the same institution suggeststhat this university, which has several doctoral programs which are trying to improve their national rankings, may experience some conflict between hiring minority faculty, on the one hand, and "covering" a certain narrow teaching and research specialization in order to strengthen their graduate program in a certain discipline. Thus as difficult as it admittedly is to find a black American with a Ph.D. in physics (any kind of physics), it may, in this faculty member's perception, be doubly or even trebly difficult to hire a black Ph.D. in physics who is also a specialist in high energy particles.

A senior white faculty member at a small private TWI noted that, in contrast to the student body which has a substantial proportion of black undergraduates, black faculty are few and far between and black senior administrators non-existent. He knew the few black faculty and considered them to be well-respected by students and colleagues alike. When asked for possible explanations for the paucity of black administrators and faculty at his institution, he reiterated his firm belief that this was not the result of discrimination. "Not many have applied," he said, "I think they took one look at our salaries." Furthermore, for the last 15 years or more the administrative structure of the institution has been pretty stable with very little turnover and a tendency to promote from within. The earliest black faculty members did not arrive until the early 1970s. "Why don't we have more? They can get better jobs, elsewhere."

In sum, the minority groups (whether it be whites at traditionally black institutions or blacks at traditionally white institutions) either found themselves excluded from administrative posts, or if such a post was occupied, the nature of the post was an auxiliary operation--a position with relatively little impact on actual operation of the institution, the allocation of institutional resources, and little impact on decision making in charting the future of the institution. This distribution exemplifies the caste-like structure of the split labor market.

The ability of faculty to feel that they may make input into such decisions, the degree to which they are seen as part of the permanent staff, and the degrees to which the labor market is split, is reflected in the degree of job security. A hallmark of job security has been the tenure system. It is important to note that minority faculty, at TBIs and TWIs were less likely to hold tenure then their majority faculty counterparts. Of the 303 Southeastern integrated colleges and universities with a tenure system, on the average, 10% fewer of the white faculty held tenure at TBIs than their black faculty counterparts and 30% fewer of the black faculty at TWIs held tenure than their white faculty counterparts. (See Table 4.4).

At TBIs, the proportionate difference between minority vis-a-vis majority faculty who held tenure was correlated with the institutional prestige. Excluding two year institutions, the broader the institutional mission, the greater the discrepancy between the proportion of minority

and majority faculty who held tenure. Only a five percent difference separated the tenure rates for black and white faculty at Liberal Arts Colleges while a 12% of difference separated blacks and whites at Comprehensive University Is. Generally, about one-third of the minority faculty held tenure while more than 40% of the majority faculty held tenure.

Although the pattern difference between minority and majority faculty at TWIs was not correlated with institutional mission and prestige, on the average, 30% fewer of the minority faculty held tenure than their majority faculty counterparts.

A tenured black professor at a Liberal Arts TWI institution felt that where desegregation was concerned, her institution had always done just enough not to be considered in violation of any existing laws or federal guidelines. Although there were only two black faculty members at the time of the interview, both of whom were among the first black faculty on campus in the early 1970s and both of whom now have tenure, as many as 6 or 7 black faculty had worked at the institution during the last decade. Some of those who left either felt uncomfortable or did not think they would obtain permanent status (tenure) at the institution.

Tenure status is only one facet of the labor market. Two additional aspects involve hiring and retention practices. An examination of the Office for Civil Rights reports for one Southeastern State University System indicated that, at TWIs, minority faculty and executive/administrators/managers were hired at a greater rate and had a lower retention rate than their majority counterparts. On first analysis it appears that these institutions are substantially increasing the proportion of minorities at rates in excess of 15 per hundred. The rate at which they are losing minorities, however, is quite high too; about 12 per hundred minority for each category. (See Table 4.5a) The net effect of such a pattern is to have an unstable minority workforce, especially in light of the relatively few minorities employed at any one institution. This pattern is not likely to change. Only 5.2% of the Executive/Administrators/Managers were minorities in 1977-78 and 5.7% of the Executive/Administrators/Managers were minorities in 1979-80. The proportion of black faculty remained at approximately 3.2% across the years. The employee category with the greatest growth of blacks was the professional non-faculty. Black personnel increased from 4.7% of all professional non-faculty to 5.5% of all professional non-faculty. Therefore, the greatest growth occured in that area which has the least impact upon the educational mission of the institution.

The hiring and retention rates for the TBI in this same state, given the small N's, were quite volatile. Additionally, the EEO-6 counts are inconsistent. For Executive/Administrators/Managers, the reported number of minority (white) persons increased from 10 in 1977-78 to 22 in 1978-79 but then decreased to 15 or 14% in 1979-80. (See Table 4.5b.) Such patterns cause us to question the realibility of the data. The patterns

TABLE 4.4 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MINORITY AND MAJORITY FACULTY TENURE RATES BY CARNEGIE CODE AND INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION: 1971*

Carnegie Code	Institutional Tradition: Traditionally Black — N of Institutions with Tenure	Minority Proportion with Tenure	Majority Proportion with Tenure	Difference	Traditionally White — N of Institutions with Tenure	Minority Proportion with Tenure	Majority Proportion with Tenure	Difference
Total N	53				250			
Doctoral Granting University					38	.241 (.166)	.535 (.090)	-.294 (.168)
Comprehensive University I	20	.318 (.172)	.438 (.168)	-.120 (.178)	53	.209 (.277)	.571 (.130)	-.362 (.237)
Comprehensive University II	8	.347 (.204)	.442 (.297)	-.096 (.196)	19	.070 (.161)	.493 (.114)	-.423 (.299)
Liberal Arts	24	.327 (.292)	.378 (.241)	-.051 (.216)	36	.179 (.319)	.471 (.177)	-.292 (.336)
Two Year Colleges	1	.143 (.00)	.488 (.00)	-.346 (.00)	104	.269 (.334)	.498 (.273)	-.229 (.325)

Note Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations (N-1 in denominator)

*Source: EEO-6 report includes only faculty employed at Southeastern integrated colleges in the United States. Institutions which had at least one tenured faculty member or one faculty member who was on a tenure track are the only institutions included in this study.

TABLE 4.5A FULL TIME PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL IN A SOUTHEASTERN STATE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM: 1977 THROUGH 1979 FOR TRADITIONALLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS

HEW Category	Academic Year								
	1977-78			1978-79			1979-80		
	Total	Minority	Majority	Total	Minority	Majority	Total	Minority	Majority
Executive-Adm-Mgr.									
Total number	1,113	58	1,055	1,268	71	1,197	1,291	74	1,217
Number of new hires	105	9	96	123	14	109	134	12	122
New Hires/N*100	(9.4)	(15.5)	(9.1)	(9.7)	(19.7)	(9.1)	(10.4)	(16.2)	(10.0)
Number of Retirements, Resignations, and Dismissals	92	5	87	76	2	74	93	9	84
RRD/N * 100	(8.3)	(8.6)	(8.2)	(6.0)	(2.8)	(6.2)	(7.2)	(12.2)	(6.9)
Faculty									
Total number	5,414	168	5,246	5,380	164	5,216	5,350	177	5,173
Number of new Hires	644	46	598	582	20	562	475	36	439
New Hires/N*100	(11.9)	(27.4)	(11.4)	(10.8)	(12.2)	(10.8)	(8.9)	(20.3)	(8.5)
Number of Retirements, Resignations, and Dismissals	466	16	450	452	26	426	461	21	440
RRD/N * 100	(8.6)	(9.5)	(8.6)	(8.4)	(15.9)	(8.2)	(8.6)	(11.9)	(8.5)
Professional Non-Faculty									
Total number	1,995	94	1,901	2,435	131	2,304	2,541	140	2,401
Number of new Hires	485	28	457	774	44	703	662	22	604
New Hires/N*100	(24.3)	(29.8)	(24.0)	(31.8)	(33.6)	(31.7)	(26.1)	(15.7)	(26.7)
Number of Retirements, Resignations, and Dismissals	430	20	410	650	41	609	545	28	517
RRD/N * 100	(21.6)	(21.3)	(21.6)	(26.7)	(31.3)	(26.4)	(21.4)	(20.0)	(21.5)

Sources: Total number counts were summated from the EEO-6 reports. Data on new hires and retirements, resignations and dismissals were taken from Office of Civil Rights reports prepared by the Central Office Staff of a Southeastern State University System. The authors are aware that total N + Number of New Hires - Number of Resignations does not sum to the following year total N. These differences are due, in part, to different time definitions for different reports.

TABLE 4.5B FULL-TIME PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL IN A SOUTHEASTERN STATE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM: 1977 THROUGH 1979 FOR TRADITIONALLY BLACK INSTITUTIONS

HEW Category	Academic Year								
	1977-78			1978-79			1979-80		
	Total	Minority	Majority	Total	Minority	Majority	Total	Minority	Majority
Executive-Adm-Mgr.									
Total number	82	10	72	108	22	86	107	15	92
Number of new Hires	4	0	4	11	3	8	13	3	10
New Hires/N*100	(4.9)	(0.0)	(1.4)	(10.2)	(9.1)	(9.3)	(12.1)	(20.0)	(10.9)
Number of Retirements, Resignations, and Dismissals	9	2	7	1	0	1	3	1	2
RRD/N * 100	(11.0)	(20.0)	(9.7)	(0.9)	(0.0)	(1.2)	(2.8)	(6.7)	(2.2)
Faculty									
Total number	292	87	205	275	86	189	281	99	182
Number of new Hires	64	20	44	37	11	26	42	11	31
New Hires/N*100	(21.9)	(23.0)	(21.5)	(13.5)	(12.8)	(13.8)	(14.9)	(11.1)	(17.0)
Number of Retirements, Resignations, and Dismissals	40	13	27	15	0	15	10	2	8
RRD/N * 100	(13.7)	(14.9)	(13.2)	(5.5)	(0.0)	(7.9)	(3.6)	(2.0)	(4.4)
Professional Non-Faculty									
Total number	82	20	62	79	26	53	90	21	69
Number of new Hires	15	7	8	14	6	8	17	7	10
New Hires/N*100	(18.3)	(35.0)	(12.9)	(17.7)	(23.1)	(15.1)	(18.9)	(33.3)	(14.5)
Number of Retirements, Resignations, and Dismissals	17	7	10	14	4	10	0	0	0
RRD/N * 100	(20.7)	(35.0)	(16.1)	(17.7)	(15.4)	(18.9)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)

Sources: Total number counts were summated from the EEO-6 reports. Data on new hires and retirements, resignations and dismissals were taken from Office of Civil Rights reports prepared by the Central Office Staff of a Southeastern State University System. The authors are aware that total N + Number of New Hires - Number of Resignations does not sum to the following year total N. These differences are due, in part, to different time definitions for different reports.

for faculty and professional non-faculty were more consistent. It showed an increase for faculty from 29.8% in 1977-78 to 35.2% in 1979-80. For professional non-faculty, minorities (non-blacks) were 25.0% of all employees in this category in 1977-78 and were 23.3% of all employees in this category for 1979-80. In terms of all those hired across the three years, 21.4% of new Executive/Administrators were white and 29.4% of new faculty were white. Given the composition of the national pool of those who hold doctoral credentials (less than 2% of all holders of the doctoral degrees were black in 1980), majority group members (blacks) were being hired at a rate which was considerbly greater than the composition of the national pool.

One factor in the split labor market is the degree to which minority vis-a-vis majority professional employees earn different pay for the same work. Examining the bivariate case using the 1977 EEO-6 report shows a consistent pattern for minorities at TWIs with minority group members earning, on the average, substantially less than majority group members employed in the same type of position at the same institution. The largest differences appeared in executive/administrative/managerial positions while the smallest appear in 9-month faculty positions. (See Table 4.6) One must note, however, the large variation in salaries and considerable overlap between minority/majority salaries. Examining average monthly salary data for our questionnaire respondents at the six TWIs indicated that the discrepancy between the races at TWIs, was substantially reduced when using a multivariate model. (The model, however, only accounted for less than 20% of the variation in monthly salaries). (See Table 4.7) The dollar difference in salary of $125.00 per month between the minority and majority groups was in the predicted direction, but the difference was not large enough to be considered statistically reliable. The institutional mission (as measured by Carnegie Code) and the individual's highest earned degree were more important than minority/majority status in explaining salary differences at TWIs.

The differences in salaries between minority and majority professional employees at TBIs were inconsistant. Examining EEO-6 data revealed that whites, on the average earned less than blacks who work at Comprehensive University Is but slightly more than blacks at TBIs Liberal Arts colleges. (See Table 4.6) With the large variability in salaries, these differences provide little support for our hypotheses. Examining the multivariate model at the six sample TBIs (Table 4.8) showed that the most important variable was the degree held by the employee. Those holding the doctorate earned considerably more ($516.00 per month) than those with masters degrees. Although differences between minority and majority group member salaries average ($212.00 per month) adjusted differences were in the predicted direction, the overall difference was not large enough to be considered statistically reliable.

For both TBIs and TWIs, when using a multivariate model, minority vis-a-vis majority status accounts for only a small proportion of the salary differences (Beta = .04 at TWIs and Beta = .09 at TBIs). Considerably larger data sets with additional variables must be used if we are to ferret out the impact of majority/minority status upon salaries.

TABLE 4.6 SALARY DIFFERENCES* BETWEEN FULL-TIME MINORITY AND MAJORITY PERSONNEL BY CARNEGIE CODE, INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION, AND POSITION TYPE: 1977**

Carnegie Code	Institutional Tradition											
	Traditionally Black						Traditionally White					
	Executive-Administrator-Manager-12 mon.		Faculty-9 mon.		Faculty-12 mon.		Executive-Administrator-Manager-12 mon.		Faculty-9 mon.		Faculty-12 mon.	
	N of Institution	Average Salary $ Difference	N of Institution	Average Salary $ Difference	N of Institution	Average Salary $ Difference	N of Institution	Average Salary $ Difference	N of Institution	Average Salary $ Difference	N of Institution	Average Salary $ Difference
Doctoral Granting Institution	None						40	-4,258 (5,000)	37	-2,051 (2,128)	32	-3,876 (4,714)
Comprehensive University I	15	-2,761 (6,106)	20	141 (1,084)	19	-563 (3,191)	34	-5,655 (4,344)	52	-2,336 (1,805)	27	-2,323 (4,563)
Comprehensive University II	6	1,774 (2,842)	7	680 (549)	5	-2,210 (5,392)	10	-3,770 (2,885)	18	-2,382 (1,870)	4	-2,189 (4,238)
Liberal Arts	18	879 (3,690)	30	551 (1,061)	13	1,676 (3,671)	18	-5,321 (2,713)	32	-1,052 (2,938)	8	845 (2,328)
Two Year Colleges	3	-4,240 (2,476)	7	761 (1,291)	1	-1,000 (0)	106	-3,896 (3,151)	142	-938 (1,721)	96	-1,088 (2,785)

NOTE: Standard deviation -- using N-1 -- are in parenthesis.

* Average salary differences = (ave. minority salary - ave. majority salary) for each institution and then averaged across institutional Carnegit Code

** Data source EEO-6 report for 1977. Includes only full-time personnel in specific postion types. Too few institutions reported minorities in other categories to be included in this analysis. Institutions without minority professional employees for the type of positions were excluded from this analysis.

TABLE 4.7 MONTHLY INCOME OF EMPLOYEES AT TRADITIONALLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS

Variable + Category	N	Unadjusted Dev≠N	Eta	Adjusted For Independents Dev≠N	Beta	Main Effect Prob. Without M/Mstatus	With M/Mstatus
Grand Mean = 1663.81	116						
Individual's Status							
Administrator	52	79.60		82.92			
Faculty	64	-64.67		-67.37			
			.08		.09	.327	.322
Carnegie Code							
Univ	7	740.84		660.04			
Comp I	69	167.91		166.46			
Comp II	12	-524.04		-520.40			
Lib Arts	14	-454.78		-415.15			
Two Year	14	-294.05		-289.24			
			.39		.37	.002	.002
Highest Degree							
Masters	38	-280.74		-226.74			
Doctorate	78	136.77		110.46			
			.23		.18	.038	.056
Multiple R Squared					.195	.001	
Multiple R					.441		
Majority/Minority Status							
Wh Wh-Univ	105	11.90		12.12			
Bl Wh-Univ	11	-113.57		-115.69			
			.04		.04		.635
Multiple R Squared					.196		.001
Multiple R					.443		

TABLE 4.8 MONTHLY INCOME* OF EMPLOYEES AT TRADITIONALLY BLACK INSTITUTIONS

Variable + Category	N	Unadjusted Dev'N	Eta	Adjusted For Independents Dev'N	Beta	Main Effect Prob. Without M/Mstatus	With M/Mstatus
Grand Mean = 1693.73	124						
Individual's Status							
Administrator	56	143.91		166.92			
Faculty	68	-118.51		-137.46			
			.14		.16	.062	.133
Carnegie Code							
Univ	19	551.15		427.40			
Comp I	59	92.34		60.66			
Comp II	13	-181.61		-133.70			
Lib Arts	20	-439.78		-348.65			
Two Year	13	-366.44		-229.86			
			.33		.25	.088	.235
Highest Degree							
Masters	45	-406.28		-329.01			
Doctorate	79	231.43		187.41			
			.32		.26	.004	.003
Multiple R Squared					.190	.001	
Multiple R					.436		
Majority/Minority Status							
Bk Bk-Univ	99	53.20		42.72			
Wh Bk-Univ	25	-210.68		-169.19			
			.11		.09		.373
Multiple R Squared					.196		.001
Multiple R					.443		

*Includes only full-time administrative and faculty persons employed for at least 9 months during the 1979-80 academic year.

Decisions About Employment and the Split Labor Market

Given this demographic pattern it is important to note the motivations for persons to work at traditionally black or traditionally white institutions. A number of important similarities and differences among the motives of blacks and whites may be seen. In terms of similarity, all four institutional/ majority-minority groups consistently stated that the most important reason for accepting employment at the specific institution was that the college or university provided them with an opportunity to work in their chosen field. Most respondents indicated that such an opportunity was either "quite important" or "very important" regardless of the institutional tradition or their majority-minority status at the university. (See Table 4.9).

One white faculty member working at a TBI recounted his experience in finding a job at this college. "Last year when I finished my masters I sent out what seemed to be 500 letters to colleges all across the country. Most colleges, when they did respond, indicated -- sorry, no vacancies. Two colleges eventually offered me a position. I was happy to get this job."

Important and significant differences do appear among these four institutional/majority-minority groups in examining secondary factors affecting motivation for employment (Tests of significance are reported in Appendix III). Blacks affiliated with traditionally black institutions generally indicated that it was quite important for them to have the opportunity to work with a predominantly black student body. Whites at TBIs, however, generally indicated that working with a predominantly black student body was of little importance. The most important secondary factors affecting white employment at TBIs were (1) the opportunity to work with an integrated faculty, (2) the tightness of the job market, and (3) the employment of a spouse or other significant person in the geographic region. Therefore, while black employees at TBIs indicated that they were motivated to work at these institutions because TBIs directly dealt with educating large numbers of black students, white employees indicated that they were motivated to work at these institutions because of professional colleague interest, economic, and familial concerns.

At traditionally white institutions, the race of the student body had little impact on respondents' decision to accept employment. Rather, the most important secondary factor affecting white employees at TWIs was the tightness of the job market. Black employees generally indicated that, in terms of secondary factors, the employment of a spouse/significant other in the geographic area and an opportunity to continue their education were important secondary reasons for accepting employment at their respective institutions.

TABLE 4.9 RANK* ORDER OF PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE FACTORS AFFECTING EMPLOYMENT BY INSTITUTIONAL TYPE AND MAJORITY/MINORITY STATUS

RANK	TRADITIONALLY BLACK		TRADITIONALLY WHITE	
	MAJORITY	MINORITY	MAJORITY	MINORITY
1	Work in Field ($\bar{X}$=3.38)	Work in Field ($\bar{X}$=3.50)	Work in Field ($\bar{X}$=3.30)	Work in Field ($\bar{X}$=3.11)
2	Work with Black Student ($\bar{X}$=2.44)	Work with Integrated Faculty ($\bar{X}$-2.09)	Tightness of Job Market ($\bar{X}$=2.04)	Employment of Spouse/ Significant Other in Area ($\bar{X}$=2.37)
3	Employment of Spouse/Significant Other in Area ($\bar{X}$=1.93)	Tightness of Job Market ($\bar{X}$=2.03)	Employment of Spouse/Significant Other in Area ($\bar{X}$=1,61)	Continue Education ($\bar{X}$=2.32)
4	Work with Intergrated Faculty ($\bar{X}$=1.77)	Employment of Spouse/Significant Other in Area ($\bar{X}$=1.97)	Work in Home Town ($\bar{X}$=1.45)	Racially Integrated Faculty ($\bar{X}$=2.16)
5	Work in Home Town ($\bar{X}$=1.75)	Work with Black Student ($\bar{X}$=1.79)	Continue Education ($\bar{X}$=1.38)	Tightness of Job Market ($\bar{X}$=2.00)
6	Tightness of Job Market ($\bar{X}$=1.66)	Work in Home Town ($\bar{X}$=1.65)	Racially Integrated Faculty ($\bar{X}$=1.38)	Work with White Students ($\bar{X}$=1.89)
7	Continue Education ($\bar{X}$=1.65)	Continue Education ($\bar{X}$=1.41)	Work with White Student ($\bar{X}$=1.21)	Work in Home Town ($\bar{X}$=1.63)

*Rank indicates rank for institutional tradition/race category determined by mean score. Original scores ranged from 1--not at all important-- through 4--very important.

All factors (except "Work in Field" and "Work in Home Town") were significantly different beyond the .05 level among the four institution/majority-minority groups. Specific Tables and tests of significance are provided in Appendix III.

A black faculty member at a TWI noted the importance of locale. When she joined the faculty on a part-time basis in the early 1970s, our informant was already married and long-time resident of the town in which the college is located and had deep roots in and commitment to remaining in the local community. In fact, this may have been one reason the institution was able to secure her services: she was in the market for a job which would not require her to relocate from a place of long residence.

The response pattern indicates two additional important factors. First, white employees, regardless of working at TBIs or TWIs and blacks at TWIs perceived the job market to be "tight" much more so than black employees at TBIs. Such a perception sets the stage for whites at TBIs and TWIs to accept employment at relatively less salary than comparable blacks. This is especially true at TBIs where whites typically see an older physical plant and have been exposed to information about the relative disparity between white vis-a-vis black salaries in American society.

The second interesting response pattern is the degree to which the minority group members on both types of campuses gave substantially higher importance to being able to work with an integrated faculty than do the majority group members for each campus. More specifically, while white employees at TBIs and black employees at TWIs generally indicated that being able to work with an integrated faculty was at least "somewhat important," black employees at TBIs and white employees at TWIs generally indicated that to be able to work with an integrated faculty was of "little importance" or "no importance."

These emerging patterns indicate that white employees currently perceive the job market as more restrictive than blacks at TBIs and that minorities at both types of institutions have a different configuration of secondary motivations for employment than their majority counterparts. Their differences may reflect different goals for working toward an integrated institution and perhaps, society. A black faculty member at a private TWI noted that she had to play the role of a racial pioneer. She saw the role as almost a type of missionary work: "It was a mission for me."

The other half of the equation about employment is the motives of those making the decisions. Most of those persons involved with decisions about prospective employees indicated general agreement (whether or not they were majority/minority group members) about the necessity of hiring persons who hold the terminal degree and were involved in the research process. A black department head at a small TBI noted that in making decisions about employment, holding terminal degree and having a research interest were very important. "Even though we know that it does not take a Ph.D. to teach freshman students, we feel that we need role models if we are ever to get our students into the mainstream."

Another black department head at a TBI noted that in making decisions about employment that he tried to hire people who fulfill the job description and people who will give beyond the job description. "It is a program based decision. Given the smallness of the department, our faculty has to go beyond what is called for in the job description."

For most other variables, respondents did not indicate strong preferences for hiring a person who was either "American Native Born" or "Foreign Born", a person who had "Attended a College Similar to this One" or a person who "Did not attend a College Similar to this One." No specific majority/minority group members had stated preferences in terms of gender, experience, or age. One difference, however, may be noted. Blacks, whether they were at TBIs or at TWI reported greater importance of hiring blacks vis-a-vis whites then did whites at TBIs or TWIs. Although all groups, on the average, indicated a preference for blacks vis-a-vis whites as an employment criteria, blacks at TBIs indicated greatest ($\bar{X} = 4.76$) preference while whites at TWIs indicated least preference ($\bar{X} = 4.11$), with the other two groups falling between these two extremes ($\bar{X} = 4.54$ for blacks at TWIs and $\bar{X} = 4.26$ for whites at TBIs). These differences were significant ($F_{3,194} = 7.95$; $p < .001$) especially in the light of Affirmative Action/Equal Employment Opportunity programs.

A recurring theme that we heard from some black administrators was the perceived need to hire blacks who may serve as role models for their students. They often pointed to the historic mission of the institution. While some other black administrators rejected this idea the comment most often heard was the need to hire blacks who could demonstrate that blacks can succeed and be active in academe.

One of the people we interviewed was a black department chairman at a traditionally black institution who had completed his undergraduate work at the same institution ten years ago. "All of my instructors were white," he recalled. He was proud of the fact that now the faculty in the department which he chairs is, according to his estimate, about 40 percent white and 60 percent black (including Caribbean and African blacks).

A white faculty member at a TBI, however, rejected this idea for his institution which was a publicly supported institution. He noted that this "institution is a state institution. Its mission is to educate citizens of the state...The statement that the historical mission of the institution was to educate blacks, it seems to me that this viewpoint perpetuates segregation...I question the role of a state institution perpetuating the role of predominantly black, predominantly Indian, predominantly white on its historical base...If it serves the people of the state, it should do so on a non-discriminating basis."

Another long time white faculty member at a TBI believed that in practice many black students would rather have white faculty than black faculty. He perceived that the average students had little preference for black vis-a-vis white professors. He went on to report that the average student had a "leaning toward having a white professor ...That idea of a black professor that he had achieved his position, that it was not easy to come by" and the idea of"I've got mine now you get yours"was all too often heard.

The Social-Psychological Component of the Split Labor Market

As we have indicated in the methodology section, salary, position type, tenure status and retention are important demographic factors in understanding majority/minority relationships. We noted, however, that the social psychological component of how people view their employment perceptions of the use/misuse of authority) at TBIs and TWIs has an impact upon and reflects the current state of majority vis-a-vis minority relations.

To set the stage for understanding the social psychological component of the split labor market, it is interesting to note the great similarity between employee's background characteristics at TWIs and TBIs. More than 60% of the respondents from both institutional traditions were male and currently married. The average age of both groups was about forty-five years old. They came from families where both parents completed most of high school (except that mothers of respondents at traditionally white institutions were more likely to have been reported as completing high school than respondent's mothers at traditionally black institutions). (See Table 4.10)

The professional histories of respondents point to great similarity between respondents of TBIs and TWIs. More than 60% of the respondents from both institutional traditions reported completing the doctoral degree. More than half of the respondents from both institutional traditions reported being born in the Southeast. More than two-thirds of the respondents reported immediate prior employment elsewhere in the Southeast before coming to their current college or university and more than 70% of the respondents reported that they held their first professional position in the Southeast. Clearly, we are working with persons who have been substantially influenced by their Southeastern experiences, whether they are currently employed by traditionally black or traditionally white institutions and whether they are black or white.

On the cost-reward continuum, the degree to which one has (or does not have) high degrees of job satisfaction is of considerable importance. Respondents generally indicated high degrees of job satisfaction. Additionally job satisfaction was significantly higher among those respondents who were affiliated with graduate programs and among those who occupied administrative positions than it was for those persons working at colleges without graduate programs and those persons who occupied faculty positions, respectively.

One black department head at a TBI explained less job satisfaction among faculty by citing a number of factors. They included low salaries (when compared to the salaries of people with similar credentials who worked outside academe); a policy against teaching at other institutions in the same geographical area; limited involvement of the department in sponsored research; and 10 hours of mandatory office hours per week.

TABLE 4.10 RESPONDENT'S STATUS AND HISTORY BY INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION

Respondent's Status Categories	Institutional Tradition			Statistics		
	Total Pct.	Black Pct.	White Pct.	Procedure/ Statistic	(df)	Prob.
Individual Status	(353)	(181)	(172)			
Sex						
Total	(348)	(180)	(168)	X^2=3.62	1*	.057
Female	34.5	39.4	29.2			
Male	65.5	62.6	70.8			
Race						
Total	(349)	(180)	(169)	X^2=139.24	2	.000
Black	44.1	74.4	11.8			
White	50.1	23.9	78.1			
Other**	5.8	1.7	10.1			
Region of Place of Birth						
Total	(349)	(180)	(169)	X^2=3.20	1*	.069
Southeastern	56.2	61.1	50.9			
Other Region	43.8	38.9	49.1			
Age	(329)	(177)	(152)	F=3.86	1,327	.050
(Mean)	45.3	46.5	43.9			
(s.d.)	12.3	12.6	11.8			
Number of Years of Education - Father	(325)	(174)	(151)	F=1.17	1,323	.280
(Mean)	11.1	10.8	11.3			
(s.d.)	4.4	4.5	4.2			
Number of Years of Education - Mother	(324)	(174)	(150)	F=4.38	1,322	.013
(Mean)	11.8	11.4	12.2			
(s.d.)	3.5	3.6	3.4			
Marital Status						
Total	(345)	(178)	(167)	X^2=0.00	1*	1.000
Married	72.2	71.9	72.5			
Not Married	27.8	28.1	27.5			
Highest Earned Degree						
Total	(290)	(145)	(145)	X^2=0.06	1*	.807
Masters	36.2	37.2	35.2			
Doctorate	63.8	62.8	64.8			
Type of Doctoral Degree						
Total	(188)	(95)	(93)	X^2=2.63	1*	.105
Ph.D.	68.1	62.1	74.2			
Other Doctoral	31.9	37.9	25.8			
Region First Employed						
Total	(327)	(170)	(157)	X^2=0.00	1*	1.000
Southeastern	74.0	74.1	73.9			
Other	26.0	25.9	26.1			
Region Last Employed Before Coming To This Institution						
Total	(294)	(154)	(140)	X^2=0.00	1*	1.000
Southeastern	66.7	66.9	66.4			
Other	33.3	33.1	33.6			

Note, values in parentheses are count values.

*Indicates use of corrected chi square statistical procedure.

** - Counts vary by variable due to different response rates.

Minority respondents reported significantly lower degrees of job satisfaction than their majority counterparts at both TWIs and TBIs. These differences continued to exist even when controlling for the variables of institutional mission (role and scope) individual's status at the institution, and the respondent's highest earned degree. Indeed, examining levels of job satisfaction at TWIs with these additional variables in the equation produced greater discrepancies between majority vis-a-vis minority respondents than examining the bivariate case. (See Table 4.11) For both institutional types (TBIs and TWIs), on the average, those in the majority reported greater job satisfaction than their minority counterparts when using the aggregated scores across such variables as cooperation from colleagues, job security, feelings of worthwhile accomplishments, and recognition and respect from colleagues and the community.

For some white faculty at TBIs, their poorer job satisfaction scores reflect feelings of not being chosen first when competing with blacks. A white faculty member at a TBI noted that he was "the second choice" for the position he now occupied. "The first choice was a black."

For some black faculty and administrators at TWIs, their poorer job satisfaction scores may reflect the feeling that they were chosen because they were black and not primarily because of the contribution they could make to their profession and college.

In examining degrees of job satisfaction at TBIs, those persons in the higher paid labor class (black administrators) reported greater degrees of job satisfaction than those in the cheaper paid labor class (white faculty). More specifically, higher paid labor scored almost four points higher (t (39.8 df) = 3.61; $p. < .001$) on the job satisfaction scale than did their cheaper paid labor counterparts. Similarly, in examining TWIs, higher paid labor (white administrators) reported greater degrees of job satisfaction than cheaper paid labor (black faculty). At TWIs, higher paid labor scored more than five points higher (t (7.5 df) = 2.5; $p < .02$) than did their cheaper paid labor counterparts. The overlay of class on majority vis-a-vis minority status tended to further accentuate the differences between majority and minority group members' job satisfaction.

A white professional at a public black institution explained this difference by noting that people who find themselves in minority situations will tend to feel less job satisfaction. "...there are social structures to which the minority members don't have access. They are less likely to achieve and find colleagues. They encounter a number of social blocks."

Job satisfaction is only one factor affecting how people perceive their level of inclusion or exclusion at Southeastern Colleges and Universities. By examining the respondents' perceptions of powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness and social inclusion-estrangement, a composite picture of feelings of alienation from the college or university was gleaned. Generally, those persons with the greatest amount

TABLE 4.11 MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF JOB SATISFACTION

Variable + Category	N	Unadjusted Dev'N	Eta	Adjusted For Independents Dev'N	Beta	Main Effect Prob. Without M/Mstatus	With M/Mstatus
Grand Mean = 33.69	287						
Carnegie Code							
Univ-Doc	34	2.08		2.23			
Comp I	142	.38		.39			
Comp II	39	-1.75		-1.51			
Lib Arts	42	-.92		-.81			
Two Year	30	-.60		-1.29			
			.23		.24	.001	.001
Individual's Status							
Administrator	127	1.57		1.57			
Faculty	155	-1.37		-1.37			
Trustee	5	2.53		2.67			
			.32				
					.32	.001	.001
Highest Degree							
Masters or Less	120	.08		.28			
Doctorate	167	-.60		-.20			
			.01		.05	.371	.208
Multiple R Squared					.158	.001	
Multiple R					.398		
Majority/Minority Status							
Bk Bk-Univ	118	.63		.32			
Wh Bk-Univ	32	-1.86		-.90			
Wh Wh-Univ	119	.19		.40			
Bl Wh-Univ	18	-2.06		-3.12			
			.20		.19		.007
Multiple R Squared					.194		.001
Multiple R					.441		

NOTE: Excludes those persons not answering at least 80% of the items, professional non-faculty persons, and other minority persons.

of power to determine the future of the college or university (trustees and administrators) reported the least amount of alienation while those with the least amount of power (faculty) reported the greatest amount of alienation. Additionally, those employed at more prestigous institutions (those with graduate programs) reported less alienation than those employed at less prestigous institutions. Finally, those in the numerical majority (blacks at TBIs and whites at TWIs) reported significantly less alienation than those in the numerical minority. (See Table 4.12.) These majority vis-a'-vis minority differences continued to be significant even when the other variables of individuals' institutional status, degree and institutional mission were entered as control variables.

As in job satisfaction, when class status (employer class, higher paid labor, and cheaper paid labor) was overlayed with majority/minority status, the differences on the variable of alienation became more extreme than when considering just minority vis-a'-vis majority status. At TBIs, higher paid labor (black administrators) reported significantly less alienation than cheaper paid labor (white faculty), (t (48.3 df) = 4.10, $p < .001$). Similarly, at TWIs, higher paid labor (white administrators) reported significantly less degrees of alienation than cheaper paid labor (black faculty), (t (6.6 df) = 2.28; $p < .02$). At both types of institutions, cheaper paid labor reported greater degrees of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social estrangement than their higher paid labor counterparts.

A white faculty member at a TBI explained these results by noting that "whoever was in the majority would be attempting to maintain the majority power...the majority people in administrative positions have been at the institution for a long time. The attitudes that were developed 10-15 years ago are going to be carried forward to the leadership. The major power is held by those who have been there the longest...this pattern exists at both types of institutions. It may be covert, but its still there."

Most of the people we interviewed expressed little or no surprise at our preliminary findings about alienation as correlated with membership in a group that was in the numerical minority at a given institution. One young white administrator at a private traditionally white institution, for example, said that "sounds like what one might expect."... However, a black administrator at a TBI expressed surprise at this result. "Whites seem to be pulled in and fit in (at TBIs) and not ostracized at black institutions as much as blacks are at white institutions. Certainly (exclusion of whites is) not the case here...Blacks have greater problems. They have to 'be more' than that person who is white." She went on to discount the relative difference between blacks and whites feelings of alienation. "The feelings of whites are just their perceptions, but it is not a fact, not real...its their feeling."

Although important differences existed between minority and majority groups on job satisfaction and alienation, only minor differences existed between these groups on their perception of how much power

TABLE 4.12 MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF ALIENATION

Variable + Category	N	Unadjusted Dev'N	Eta	Adjusted For Independents Dev'N	Beta	Main Effect Prob. Without M/Mstatus	With M/Mstatus
Grand Mean = 13.43	295						
Carnegie Code							
Univ-Doc	35	-1.00		-.94			
Comp I	144	-.17		-.18			
Comp II	41	1.18		.95			
Lib Arts	44	-.18		-.31			
Two Year	31	.60		1.09			
			.17		.17	.051	.031
Individual's Status							
Administrator	128	-1.19		-1.22			
Faculty	157	1.11		1.13			
Trustee	10	-2.13		-2.13			
			.33		.34	.001	.001
Highest Degree							
Masters or Less	124	.07		.00			
Doctorate	171	-.05		.00		.990	.938
			.02		.00		
Multiple R Squared					.138	.001	
Multiple R					.372		
Majority/Minority Status							
Bk Bk-Univ	120	-.38		-.29			
Wh Bk-Univ	36	1.46		1.29			
Wh Wh-Univ	122	-.18		-.26			
Bl Wh-Univ	17	.85		1.23			
			.17		.16		.042
Multiple R Squared					.163		.001
Multiple R					.403		

NOTE: Excludes those persons not answering at least 80% of the items, professional non-faculty persons, and other minority persons.

governing boards, administrators, and faculty should have in the decision-making process at Southeastern colleges and universities. Members of both majority and minority groups indicated general disagreement (grand mean = 1.7) with the statement that decisions about the future of the institution must be made solely on the basis of board mandate ($F_{3,309} = 2.24$; p = n.s.) general disagreement (grand mean = 1.8) with the statement that administrators on this campus have too little to say about what happens at this institution ($F_{3,309} = 2.24$; p = n.s), and general agreement (grand mean = 2.1) with the statement that faculty members should have a chance to say how things should run at this institution ($F_{3,306} = .795$; p = n.s).

The faculty with whom we spoke did not see the trustees as infringing on the operation of the institution. They saw administrators as the center of power. Similarly, the trustees with whom we spoke believed that administrators should have considerable latitude within which to operate. "We would not interfere with the on-going operation of the institution. If we felt that the president was not doing his job, we would replace him...our responsibility is policy, especially fiscal policy."

Differences between majority and minority groups appeared in their perceptions of the legitimacy of the exercise of authority. At traditionally black institutions and traditionally white institutions, minorities, on the average, saw those exercising authority and the process of that exercise as less legitimate than those in the majority. Minorities more often perceived that persons in positions of authority sometimes took unfair advantage of their position, that people with authority at this institution just did not know what was going on a lot of the time and that the institution did not abide by "due process" more often than those in the majority. These differences were maintained even after the affects of (1) institutional mission, (2) the individual's status (trustee, administrator, or faculty), and (3) the individual's highest degree were taken into account. (See Table 4.13)

These differences become even more extreme when comparing higher paid labor and cheaper paid labor at TBIs and TWIs. Higher paid labor (black administrators at TBIs and white administrators at TWIs) more often saw themselves as being sufficiently informed, not taking unfair advantage of their position, and seeing the institution abiding by due process than did cheaper paid labor (white faculty at TBIs and black faculty at TWIs). These differences were significant across all four groups ($F_{3,144} = 10.42$; $p < .001$) as well as between higher paid labor and cheaper paid labor at TBIs (t (39.2 df) = 2.7; $p < .005$) and TWIs (t (7.7 df) = 3.84; $p < .005$).

A white faculty member at a TBI noted that "if the racial issues were waived, some recent appointees would not have been appointed...we (the institution) would have been better off without them." He went on to note a standing joke about the administration: "The administration here would get along marvelously if it weren't for students and faculty...The gap between the administration and faculty is substantial." The relationship is almost an adversary relationship. The faculty see administration as fullfilling a service function (e.g. getting grade rolls, etc.) "not to direct us about being a day late with this and that."

TABLE 4.13 MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF PERCEPTIONS OF LEGITIMACY OF AUTHORITY

Variable + Category	N	Unadjusted Dev'N	Eta	Adjusted For Independents Dev'N	Beta	Main Effect Prob. Without M/Mstatus	With M/Mstatus
Grand Mean = 7.79	289						
Carnegie Code							
Univ-Doc	35	.32		.30			
Comp I	137	.05		.06			
Comp II	40	-.47		-.38			
Lfb Arts	46	-.21		-.10			
Two Year	31	.30		-.05			
			.13		.10	.570	.441
Individual's Status							
Administrator	123	.73		.71			
Faculty	154	-.68		-.67			
Trustee	12	1.29		1.36			
			.38		.37	.001	.001
Highest Degree							
Masters or Less	121	-.09		-.10			
Doctorate	168	.06		.07		.455	.621
					.04		
Multiple R Squared					.153	.001	
Multiple R					.399		
Majority/Minority Status							
Bk Bk-Univ	116	.03		-.03			
Wh Bk-Univ	35	-.65		-.50			
Wh Wh-Univ	120	.25		.29			
Bl Wh-Univ	18	-.57		-.78			
			.16		.16		.035
Multiple R Squared					.178		.001
Multiple R					.422		

NOTE: Excludes those persons not answering all the items, professional non-faculty persons, and other minority persons.

A Look at Ethnic Antagonism and Affirmative Action: Perceptions of Respondents

Within this context, it is important to note that minorities generally perceived the level of ethnic antagonism at their institution as more problematic than their majority counterparts. This was especially true at TWIs where most white employees saw the level of ethnic hostility substantially lower than black employees at these institutions. (See Table 4.14)

Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that black respondents, whether they were employed at TBIs or TWIs, saw ethnic relations in American society as more problematic than white employees at traditionally white colleges and universities. For all groups ethnic antagonism was seen as more pronounced in the larger society than at their college or university. This differential evaluation was most extreme for black employees at TBIs and least extreme for blacks at TWIs. Apparently traditionally black institutions served as a buffer against the larger society for blacks. Therefore, they may see TBIs as a relative refuge from ethnic antagonism of the larger society and places where they believed they have greater claim to the control of the future of what they perceive to be their colleges and universities.

When asked about the desegregation process, one senior black faculty member at a private traditionally black institution stressed the need to differentiate semantically between the terms "desegregation" and "integration." He defined desegregation as the "discontinuance of forced separation of the races." Integration, however, presupposes "bringing together in some kind of balance." The same professor felt that the process was going much faster at black institutions than at white institutions and cited a black law school whose student body was 15-20 percent white. The major problem, according to him, is to get a more representative number of black faculty at white institutions. It was valuable for whites, generally afflicted with what he called "the imperial disposition," to have a "subordinate experience" in which they might learn to "gracefully accept the authority of blacks." "A white person needs to be in a situation where they're not dominating all the time," he said. Once black authority is accepted the white role in traditionally black institutions can be quite positive: "A person like John Munro is just fantastic." Furthermore, this black educator argued that white presence on a black campus is necessary to bring the experience and perspectives of white persons and to keep the schools from being "unrealistically free of white presence." It was clear, however, that the presence of white persons must be subordinate, not as colleagues, but subordinate to blacks.

Such beliefs impact perceptions of institutional conservatism and the perceived need for various affirmative action programs at colleges and universities. At both TBIs and TWIs, majority group members consistently saw less need for such generic AA/EEO programs than did minorities. Majority employees were less likely to support activities

TABLE 4.14 PERCEPTIONS OF ETHNIC ANTAGONISM* BY LEVEL AND MAJORITY/MINORITY STATUS

ETHNIC ANTAGONISM	TOTAL	TRADITIONALLY BLACK		TRADITIONALLY WHITE		F	df	Prob
		MAJORITY	MINORITY	MAJORITY	MINORITY			
Institution	$\bar{X}$=39.37	$\bar{X}$=37.00[1]	$\bar{X}$=42.32[1]	$\bar{X}$=37.48[1]	$\bar{X}$=61.26[2]	5.93	3,307	.001
		SD=27.05	SD=22.94	SD=21.90	SD=24.90			
	N=311	N=127	N=41	N=124	N=19			
American Society	$\bar{X}$=55.90	$\bar{X}$=59.93[2]	$\bar{X}$=57.12[1,2]	$\bar{X}$=49.87[1]	$\bar{X}$=65.53[2]	3.49	3,305	.001
		SD=20.95	SD=13.38	SD=15.95	SD=19.36			
	N=309	N=126	N=41	N=123	N=19			

*Ethnic antagonism measured by responses to a themometer scale where values ranged from 0 (total integration) to 100 (total antagonism--conflict).

[1,2]Values next to mean scores reflect homogenous subsets (Scheffe .01 procedure) identify, e.g., for institutional respondents from traditionally black institutions and respondents who were in the majority at white institutions form one subset while minority respondents at white institutions form a second subset (i.e. seeing ethnic antagonism as more problematic).

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which were specifically created to recruit minority (whites at TBIs and blacks at TWIs) students or faculty, the need to appoint minorities to visible top administrative posts or the need to work toward full integration across all faculty and administrative positions. The differences were statistically significant across all four majority/minority groups (see Table 4.15), between blacks and whites at TBIs (t (65.7 df) = 3.85; $p. < .001$), and between blacks and whites at TWIs (t (21.6 df) = 3.34; $p. < .002$).

One black administrator at a TBI was asked about her perception of the appropriate mix of black and white faculty at her institution. Although she had "no ideal mix," and noted that more than 30% of the faculty at her campus was already white, she rejected a mix which would have had her institution employ more than 50% of the professionals staff being white. She stated:

> Black institutions have a special mission toward black students. This is our primary thrust. Although we are open to all students...I don't see how you can do an effective job on black students and have a college run predominantly by whites.

Alternately, a long time white faculty member at a TBI indicated that AA would mean that "some extra recruitment and hiring effort in the minority areas (are required) to overcome an imbalance. The minorities at this institution (and those needed to be recruited) would be whites."

In terms of Affirmative Action procedures we examined a number of printed forms. One set was used at a traditionally black public institution whose faculty is upwards of 35 percent white. One part was designed to be signed by the Department chairperson, the Dean, the Vice-President for Academic Affairs and the Affirmative Action Officer. Another form is to be signed by the Search Committee chairperson, the Department head and the Affirmative Action Officer. These forms require reporting of the present racial and sexual breakdown of the department; proposed 3 year composition; racial and sexual distribution of the number of written applications received and a list of "the candidates that are being sincerely considered for this position." In addition, the Department Chairperson must attest to the following statement:

> This is to certify that the Institution's Affirmative Action Policy has been followed in the recruitment of candidates and the recommendation of applicant for the above position and that documentary evidence is on file in this office (Office of Department Chairman) to support the above statements.

According to the Vice-President for Academic Affairs (who is a black male) at this institution, the President of the institution had issued a formal statement urging openness and fairness in employment, compensation and advancement without regard to race. According to this

TABLE 4.15 MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF INSTITUTIONAL CONSERVATISM

Variable + Category	N	Unadjusted Dev'N	Eta	Adjusted For Independents Dev'N	Beta	Main Effect Prob. Without M/Mstatus	With M/Mstatus
Grand Mean = 11.32	294						
Carnegie Code							
Univ-Doc	35	.16		.22			
Comp I	142	-.19		-.17			
Comp II	39	.90		.87			
Lib Arts	47	.17		.13			
Two Year	31	-.72		-.76			
			.15		.15	.154	.272
Individual's Status							
Administrator	126	-.13		-.07			
Faculty	155	.11		.07			
Trustee	13	-.03		-.23			
			.04		.03	.874	.388
Highest Degree							
Masters or Less	123	.19		.21			
Doctorate	171	-.14		-.15		.285	.255
			.06		.06		
Multiple R Squared					.028	.310	
Multiple R					.168		
Majority/Minority Status							
Bk Bk-Univ	120	.67		.69			
Wh Bk-Univ	37	-1.18		-1.43			
Wh Wh-Univ	119	.10		.14			
Bl Wh-Univ	18	-2.67		-2.61			
			.32		.33		.001
Multiple R Squared					.131		.001
Multiple R					.362		

NOTE: Excludes those persons not answering at least 80% of the items, professional non-faculty persons, and other minority persons.

account, the President's statement indicated that he viewed such openness as not simply a matter of law but of morality. The Vice President for Academic Affairs noted "some opposition but not any major upheaval" in response to this announcement. A couple of individuals lost their departmental chairmanships at least partially because they "obstinately refused" to hire white faculty. The same Vice-President for Academic Affairs also recalled a situation in which a recent black alumnus of the institution fresh out of graduate school with a master's degree was recommended for hiring over a white candidate with a Ph.D." and a string of publications that long." When asked what his response to that recommendation was, the Vice-President said firmly," I vetoed the appointment." Such procedures are important beginnings.

A senior white faculty member at this TBI noted, however, that discrimination if it occurred, would not be overt. Even with the formal position taken by the administration, "Discrimination---any system that is as well organized as this one (is) going to be within the limits (of the law). Other reasons would be found. "It's not something that you could put your finger on...it still goes on."

It is interesting to note the evaluation of AA/EEO activities by black faculty members of a small TWI who were invited to join the faculty in the early 1970s. Neither of them actively sought their respective positions. Our informant felt that although her institution now advertises nationally to fill faculty and administrative vacancies, national advertising is not sufficient to increase the number of black faculty hired. "There are so few of us, and so many, many institutions." she said, that it is not typical for blacks in the academic job market to apply for vacant positions strictly on the basis of published impersonal advertisements. Echoing the observations of a white colleague, she said "opportunities for black or minority faculty are there." The Board of Trustees just wanted an excellent school, "They have no problems with integration"..."If the price is right, you can get them (black and minority faculty)."

With the possible exception of some state-run traditionally black institutions which were prohibited by law from hiring white teachers, most TBIs, for whatever reason, can make a stronger case for their traditional openness to hiring white faculty than traditionally white institutions can make for their record of hiring black professionals. A wide range of individuals we interviewed mentioned the time-consuming "paperwork" requirements for federal reporting. As time-consuming as the federal reporting requirements may be, it cannot be said that the advent of affirmative action at most traditionally white institutions has led to a process of openly hiring black professionals. Our analyses suggest that most white faculty and administrators at traditionally white institutions do not view ethnic antagonism as a problem affecting them directly, give little thought to race relations and equal employment opportunity matters, and rate such matters as relatively unimportant in terms of finding minority employees to work at their institution.

A white faculty member at a TWI stated that he "has been surprised that so few blacks had been employed" at his institution. At this same institution, another white faculty member, who participated in employment decisions, indicated that "finding a black to work in this department was a low priority. Many other problems have a higher priority."

For both types of institutions, minority group members vis-a-vis majority group members find themselves restricted to certain kinds of jobs, having less job security, having to cope with more job related problems and less job satisfaction, having to deal with feelings of alienation from the institution and general exclusion from the decision making process where the decisions are being made by people who are more often perceived as not being fully informed, not abiding by due process and taking unfair advantage of their position. Such a constellation of factors leads minority group members more often than majority group members to call for greater inclusion of people like themselves.

Finally, it is important to note that the institutions which had graduate programs were not significantly more conservative than institutions without graduate programs. Nor did we find that administrators were more conservative than faculty. Nor did the type of academic training (as measured by individuals' highest earned degree) impact perceptions of the need for generic AA/EEO programs at their institutions. The only significant variable was the majority vis-a-vis minority status of the individual with minority group members supporting the need for institutional change and the recruitment and appointment of other minorities to important campus posts.

FOOTNOTE FOR CHAPTER IV.

1/ Includes state system central office as well.

V. CONCLUSION

This report has examined ethnic--race--relations among trustees, administrators, faculty, and professional non-faculty who were affiliated with colleges and universities located in the Southeastern United States during the late 1970s. Since social institutions are the prime intervening factor between the individual/group and the larger society, the macroscopic theory of the split labor market was modified and tested within an institutional framework. In order to test widely the theory, special efforts were taken to include professional employees at different types of colleges and universities including traditionally black and traditionally white colleges and those offering doctoral programs, other advanced degrees, baccalaurate degrees, and associate degrees.

Split labor market theory (Bonacich, 1979) notes that when there are two or more groups of workers whose price of labor differs for the same work, or would differ if they did the same work, employers set in motion pressures to displace higher priced labor with cheaper labor. Given that a large number of groups have different labor prices--due to their resources, knowledge, degree of organization, and employment motives, social institutions that need workers and are dominated by an employer group will attempt to use cheaper paid labor. At the same time, with the entering of these groups, higher-priced labor perceives possible displacement, and develops alternatives to protecting itself. Although higher-priced labor has two choices in dealing with the possibility of displacement (either blocking access to cheap labor by political means or raising the price of cheap labor so that the labor force is quite homogeneous), the typical response to this threat of displacement is the development of exclusion movements and the creation of caste-like systems--to draw a line around a set of jobs, which it occupies and controls, and seeks to prevent displacement in these particular jobs.

The structure of the split labor market may be noted by identifying three elements, (1) employer class--which has as its aim to develop as cheap and docile a labor force as possible, (2) higher priced labor--well paid employees who are very threatened by the introduction and probable competition of cheaper paid labor into the market place, and (3) cheaper paid labor--those groups who charge the least for their labor. This class structure is overlayed with a ethnic--racial--factor in American society and the institution of higher education. To the degree that the labor market is split along ethnic lines, "the class antagonism (between Higher Labor and Lower Labor Classes) takes the form of ethnic antagonism" (1972:553). Basically, the theory suggests that race questions are really class questions in that one racial group may be identified as "cheaper paid labor" while the other may be identified as "higher priced labor." The dynamics between racial and ethnic groups are really class dynamics.

Howard, Shaw, Talladega, Morehouse, Hampton and a host of other private black colleges were founded during this period. They provided the principal opportunity for blacks to acquire higher education. From the time of the Plessy Vs. Ferguson decision (1896) through 1930s aspiring black collegians and faculty members faced nearly total exclusion from the traditionally white colleges and universities in the Southern and border states. Blocked from employment in white institutions, black professors struggled for control of faculty positions, deanships and presidencies which has previously been controlled by whites at black institutions. Beginning in 1933, with the efforts of a black North Carolinian to secure admission to the school of pharmacy at the University of North Carolina, intensified litigation began to forge cracks in the wall of racial seperation in American higher education. When black litigants began to question the equalness of the separate but equal doctrine under the system of legalized segregation, many southern states resorted to evasive action including the establishment of out-of-state fellowships and the establishment of separate and usually unequal black graduate and professional schools. The "voluntary" desegregation which occurred in Southern higher education between 1948 and the rendering of the Brown decision in 1954 was seldom more than tokenism aimed at forestalling more massive and widespread desegregation of st dent bodies and was limited almost exclusively to student (primarily graduate students) with no noticeable faculty desegregation.

Between 1954 and 1964 not many black students entered traditionally white southern institutions as undergraduates. If the 1940s was marked by token breakthroughs in black admissions to Southern public graduate and professional schools, the 1950s was a decade of continued legal challenge, official footdragging and token breakthroughs at the undergraduate level. As late as 1958 there were five states in the Deep South (Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina and Mississippi) where no desegregation had taken place at any publicly-supported institution. Our cursory review of the process of desegregation in Southern higher education during the decade following the Brown decision indicates that a number of legal and symbolic changes had taken place which resulted in at least token desegregation at both the undergraduate and graduate levels in all of the former "separate but equal" states. Such a great investment of social energy was required to attain these meager gains that little energy was left for a specific challenge to the color bar at the faculty level. Thus when the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed hardly any traditionally white institutions of higher learning in the Southern and border states had hired black faculty members or administrators. Between the mid-1960s and 1980 the position of black professors in what Harold M. Rose has called the "open market" improved somewhat. In the late 1960s nationwide agitation by black college students had the effect of increasing the demand for trained black academic talent. By the early 1970s the slowly evolving concept of affirmative action which had been incubating in federal administrative law began to be applied to colleges and universities and further heightened the demand for black professors precisely at a time when the academic marketplace was glutted with whites who had earned the Ph.D.

The examination of the survey data pointed clearly to a split in the labor market between higher paid labor and cheaper paid labor. Although the employer class did not exert direct pressure on the day to day operations of the institution, higher paid labor (whether they be blacks at TBIs or whites at TWIs) experienced greater job security, greater degrees of job satisfaction and less institutional alienation than cheaper paid labor (whether it be whites at TBIs or blacks at TWIs). Those in the majority more often did not support and saw little need for affirmative action/equal employment opportunity programs which would produce greater numbers of minority professional employees at their institutions. These differences continued to exist even when controlling for the variables of institutional mission/type (as measured by its Carnegie Code, 1969), an individual's position at the institution (trustee, administrator, or faculty) and an individual's academic credentials (doctoral vs. non-doctoral degree).

The analyses of the data and their support for the theory points to the need to understand the development of higher education and the dynamics of ethnic--race--relations at colleges and universities within a split labor market context. Additionally, the degree to which members of American society and its institution of higher education reinforce and support patterns of exclusion and caste-like structures, is the degree to which ethnic antagonism will continue to be a major problem. Alternately, one method of ameliorating ethnic antagonism is the development of structures and procedures which produce greater parity in rewards and the inclusion of minorities (whether they be blacks at traditionally white institutions or whites at traditionally blacks institutions) in all classes within specific institutions.

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APPENDIX I.

Advisory Committee

DR. ERNST BORINSKI
Professor
Department of Sociology
Tougaloo College

DR. CHARLES N. GRIGG
Director
Institute for Social Research
Florida State University

DR. FREDERICK D. HARPER
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DR. DONALD REICHARD
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DR. JOHN R. THELIN
Assistant Director and Research
Coordinator
Association of Independent California
Colleges and Universities
Claremont College

DR. NORMAN P. UHL
Associate Vice Chancellor for Academic
Affairs-Research, Evaluation and Planning
North Carolina Central University

Dear Trustee:

The Florida Research Center has undertaken a major research project which is investigating the perceptions of governing board members, administrators, and faculty about racial desegregation in higher education. We are particularly interested in the desegregation and integration processes at historically black and predominantly white colleges and universities in the South.

To better understand these processes, we have carefully developed a questionnaire which has been mailed to more than one thousand administrators and faculty members at selected colleges and universities. We believe that it is essential that trustees and governing board members be given the same opportunity to express their opinions. Therefore, the same questionnaire is enclosed for your use. The questionnaire is easy to complete and thought-provoking. It provides you with an opportunity to express your perceptions of the campus decision making process, how you feel about your job as a governing board member, and your perceptions about the issues in faculty, student and administration desegregation. Even though you are not on campus, your opinions about what is occurring at the institution are important.

So that you may see all the questions being used, we have enclosed the entire questionnaire. However, we realize that some of the sections (Employment History Data, page 2 and Current Institutional Status, page 3) do not apply to you. You may also find that some of the items do not seem particularly relevant. Feel free to skip those items. However, most of the items will provide you with an opportunity to express your opinions about the important issues in higher education and how you feel about your contributions at this institution. Therefore, please skip pages 2 and 3 and answer all the remaining questions. In answering each of the questions, please remember that we are interested in your perceptions about

Your reply to this questionnaire is completely confidential. All data will be reported in group form. Findings will be reported in a professional manner, through behavioral science journals without reference to individuals, institutions, or systems. A summary of the results will be available for all participants at the end of 1980. If you would like a copy, please call us or write a letter requesting a copy of the results.

The success of research of this type depends solely upon the good will of you, the person asked to voluntarily participate. If a high proportion of individuals actually respond to this questionnaire honestly and completely, then all of us may have confidence in the results. We appreciate your willingness to take the time to participate, answering all questions carefully, candidly, and promptly returning the questionnaire in the self-addressed envelope.

Sincerely,

Jeffrey M. Jacques
Project Director

Robert L. Hall

Robert L. Hall, M.A.
Associate Project Director

JMJ/RLH/cv

Enclosure

FLORIDA RESEARCH CENTER, INC.

Advisory Committee

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Coordinator
Association of Independent California
Colleges and Universities
Claremont College

DR. NORMAN P. UHL
Associate Vice Chancellor for Academic
Affairs-Research, Evaluation and Planning
North Carolina Central University

Dear Colleague:

The Florida Research Center is conducting a study of attitudes toward racial integration at both historically black and predominantly white institutions of higher education. You are one of a sample of university faculty and administrators selected for this study. Please take a few minutes to complete the enclosed questionnaire. It has been carefully prepared. It is easy to complete, yet thought-provoking.

Your reply to this questionnaire is completely confidential. All data will be reported in group form. Findings will be reported in a professional manner, through behavioral science journals without reference to individuals, institutions, or systems. A summary of the results will be available for all participants at the end of 1980. If you would like a copy, please call us or write a letter requesting a copy of the results.

The success of research of this type depends solely upon the good will of you, the person asked to voluntarily participate. If a high proportion of individuals actually responds to this questionnaire honestly and completely, then all of us may have confidence in the results. We appreciate your willingness to take the time to participate, answering all questions carefully, candidly, and promptly returning the questionnaire in the self-addressed envelope.

Sincerely,

Jeffrey M. Jacques, Ph.D.
Project Director

Robert L. Hall, M.A.
Associate Project Director

226 West Pensacola Street / Suite 200 / Tallahassee, Florida 32301 / (904) 224-1130

Instrument# _____ (1-8 Punch 1 in 9)

FLORIDA RESEARCH CENTER

FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATIVE SURVEY

DIRECTIONS: Listed below are a series of questions about your background and status at an institution of higher education. Please answer each of the questions in the space provided to the right of each question. Where possible, please write the number corresponding to your answer instead of writing your answer out. Ignore the numbers in parentheses. Be careful to answer all the questions that apply to you.

I. Background Data

1. Sex: 1. Female 2. Male _____ (10)

2. Race/ethnic identification:
   1. Asian American 4. Native American
   2. Black American 5. White American
   3. Hispanic American 6. Other _____ _____ (11)

3. Place of birth:
   If you were born in the United States, please write the name of the state _____. _____
   If you were born outside the territory of the United states, please indicate country _____. _____ (12-13)

4. Year of birth 19 _____ (14-15)

5. Marital Status: 1. Married 2. Not Married _____ (16)

6-7. The highest level of formal education completed
   by my father is(was): _____. _____ (17-18)
   by my mother is(was): _____. _____ (19-20)

8-10. For each of the following, please write on the line provided the name of the institution and the year you completed your degree.

Degree	Institution	Year Completed	
Bachelor	_____	19 _____	(21-26)
Masters	_____	19 _____	(27-32)
Doctoral	_____	19 _____	(33-38)

11. If you have completed the doctoral degree, please indicate whether it was:

   1. Ed.D. 2. Ph.D. 3. Other Doctorate
   Specify _____ _____ (39)

II. Employment History Data

12. After receiving my highest degree, the geographic location where I was first professionally employed was (if in the United States, please give state)

_____ _____ (40-41)

13. The location of my professional position immediately before coming to this institution was (if in the United States, please use state)

_____ _____ (42-43)

14. Excluding your current employment, have you held a professional position at an historically black institution? 1. Yes 2. No _____ (44)

15. If you answered question 14 yes, please indicate the name of this (most recent if more than one) institution

_____ _____ (45)

16-18. For the 1979-80 academic year:

The number of months that I will be employed is: _____ (46-47)

I am employed: 1. Full-time 2. Part-time _____ (48)

My total salary for this period will be

1. $ 5,000-$ 7,999	9. $22,000-$23,999
2. $ 8,000-$ 9,999	10. $24,000-$25,999
3. $10,000-$11,999	11. $26,000-$27,999
4. $12,000-$13,999	12. $28,000-$29,999
5. $14,000-$15,999	13. $30,000-$31,999
6. $16,000-$17,999	14, $32,000-$33,999
7. $18,000-$19,999	15. $34,000-$35,999
8. $20,000-$21,999	16. $36,000 or more

_____ (49-50)

NOTE: If you are not paid by this institution or system, please enter a value of 99 in the space provided.

III. Current Institutional Status

If you are an administrator (e.g. Dean, Vice-President, Governing Board member, etc.) please answer the next few questions. If you are a faculty member (more than half your time is spent in the classroom, research, etc.) please skip to item 26. Where possible enter your answer or its number on the line provided at the right.

A. Administrators

19. The title of my position is: _____ ____ (51-52)

20. Most of my work involves: _____
_____ ____ (53-54)

21. The number of years I worked at this institution as a faculty member was (Use 0 if not ever a faculty member): ____ (55-56)

22. The highest rank as a faculty member that I achieved at this institution was: (Use 0 if not ever a faculty member)
_____ ____ (57)

23-24. My **first** year of employment as an administrator/board member:
at any institution was ..... 19 ____ (58-59)
at this institution was ..... 19 ____ (60-61)

25. Do you hold tenure as a faculty member at this institution?
1. Yes 2. No ____ (62)

----------GO TO NEXT PAGE----------

B. Faculty Members

26. Current rank:
1. Instructor/Lecturer
2. Assistant Professor
3. Associate Professor
4. Professor
5. Other, please specify _____ ____ (63)

27. Number of years in current rank at this institution: ____ (64-65)

28. Current tenure status:
1. Not tenured, not eligible
2. Not tenured, eligible for tenure (tenure track)
3. Tenured ____ (66)

29-32. For each of the following, indicate by checking on the line provided if you are a dues paying member of:

American Association of University Professors ____ (67)
National Education Association ____ (68)
American Federation of Teachers ____ (69)
American Federation of Labor ____ (70)

33. Please indicate any contractual administrative responsibilities _____ (71)

34-35. Over the past five years, how many books or professional (refereed) articles have you published? (Use 0 if none)
Books ____ (72)
Articles ____ (73-74)

36-38. Please indicate your: department _____ ____ (75-76)
discipline _____ ____ (77-78)
speciality _____ ____ (79-80)

IV. The next few questions explore how you feel about ideas, people, and your experiences on this campus. For each question, please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the statement by circling one of the four alternatives:

1. Strongly Agree(SA)
2. Agree(A)
3. Strongly Disagree(SD)
4. Disagree(D)

One word of caution. Please use the term "minority" to indicate:

1. Black-Americans on predominantly white campuses AND
2. White-Americans on predominantly black campuses.

PUNCH ID (in 1-8; 2 in col. 9)

	SA	A	SD	D	
39. The duties of my job are challenging.	1	2	3	4	(10)
40. There is much that I can do about most of the important problems that we face at this institution.	1	2	3	4	(11)
41. Things have become so complicated at this institution that I really do not understand what is going on.	1	2	3	4	(12)
42. I have gotten little cooperation from the people I work with at this institution.	1	2	3	4	(13)
43. I like the kind of work I do at this institution.	1	2	3	4	(14)
44. My salary is comparable with salaries for similar work at other institutions.	1	2	3	4	(15)
45. In order to get ahead at this institution, you are almost forced to do some things which are unprofessional.	1	2	3	4	(16)
46. I am quite interested in the cultural events (e.g. plays, speeches, etc.) at this institution.	1	2	3	4	(17)
47. The administrators at this institution have too little to say about what happens at this institution.	1	2	3	4	(18)
48. My institution should develop and implement more activities specifically to recruit minority (blacks on white campus/whites on black campus) students.	1	2	3	4	(19)
49. At this institution, people in positions of authority sometimes take unfair advantage of their positions.	1	2	3	4	(20)
50. The ordinary faculty member should have a chance to say how things should run at this institution.	1	2	3	4	(21)
51. It is essential that this institution increase the number and proportion of minority (black on white/ white on black campus) faculty.	1	2	3	4	(22)

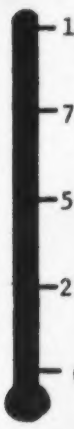
	SA	A	SD	D	
52. Decisions about the future of this institution must be made solely on the basis of legislative or governing board mandate.	1	2	3	4	(23)
53. Minorities who hold "requisite credentials" should be appointed to visible top administrative posts.	1	2	3	4	(24)
54. I do not really enjoy most of the work that I do at this institution, but I feel that I must do it in order to have other things that I need and want.	1	2	3	4	(25)
55. At this institution, I often feel alone.	1	2	3	4	(26)
56. The institution abides by "due process" procedures in all matters.	1	2	3	4	(27)
57. The people with authority just do not know what is going on a lot of the time at this institution.	1	2	3	4	(28)
58. My immediate supervisor has supported my stands on controversial issues.	1	2	3	4	(29)
59. At this institution, we must work toward full racial integration across all faculty and administrative positions.	1	2	3	4	(30)
60. When people in the community learn where I am employed they usually respond with respect.	1	2	3	4	(31)
61. I have gained a feeling of worthwhile accomplishment from my job at this institution.	1	2	3	4	(32)
62. Programs which will recruit large numbers of minority (blacks on white/whites on black campus) students should be resisted.	1	2	3	4	(33)
63. If a similar job became available elsewhere, I would take it.	1	2	3	4	(34)
64. I feel "at home" at this institution.	1	2	3	4	(35)
65. In making decisions about employment it is important to give preferential treatment to whites at historically white institutions.	1	2	3	4	(36)
66. The system of promotions at this institution is fair.	1	2	3	4	(37)
67. Most of the time I feel secure in my job.	1	2	3	4	(38)
68. I have received too little recognition from my colleagues at this institution.	1	2	3	4	(39)
69. In making decisions about employment it is important to give preferential treatment to blacks at black institutions.	1	2	3	4	(40)
70. I am proud to be a member of this campus community.	1	2	3	4	(41)

V. The next few items explore why you have chosen to work at this institution. For each of the listed statements indicate the relative importance of each by CIRCLING:

1. Not at all important
2. Somewhat important
3. Quite important
4. Very important

71.	The opportunity to work in my chosen field.	1	2	3	4	(42)
72.	An opportunity to work with a racially integrated faculty.	1	2	4	4	(43)
73.	An opportunity to continue my education at a nearby university.	1	2	3	4	(44)
74.	The tightness of the job market.	1	2	3	4	(45)
75.	Employment of my spouse/other significant person in the geographic area.	1	2	3	4	(46)
76.	An opportunity to work with a predominantly black or white student body.	1	2	3	4	(47)
77.	An opportunity to work in my home town.	1	2	3	4	(48)
78.	OTHER, please specify: _____ _____	1	2	3	4	(49)

VI. 79-81. Immediately below, you will find a picture of a thermometer. It may be used to measure your perception of the relationship between black and white Americans at this institution, in this community, and in the general society. If 0 indicates total integration and 100 indicates total antagonism, using any value between these two extremes, how do you rate interracial relations?


100 - Total racial antagonism (i.e., active opposition, hostility, conflict)
75
50
25
0 - Total racial integration (i.e., oneness, equality, and total acceptance)

in American Society ____ (50-51)

in this community ____ (52-53)

at this institution ____ (54-55)

VII. If you are involved in the hiring of faculty or administrators please complete each of the following. Circle the number which most closely approximates the degree to which you value the characteristics in a new employee. For example, you would circle the number 5 to indicate that you have a slight preference to employ the most assertive individual.

EXAMPLE

Not Assertive	1	2	3	4	(5)	6	7	Assertive	
82. Experienced	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Not Experienced	(56)
83. Younger	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Older	(57)
84. Not holding Terminal Degree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Holding Terminal Degree	(58)
85. American Native Born	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Foreign Born	(59)
86. White	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Black	(60)
87. Female	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Male	(61)
88. Attended a college similar to this one.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Did not attend a similar college.	(62)
89. Politically Active	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Politically Inactive	(63)
90. Research Unimportant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Research Emphases	(64)

Please give us any additional comments you may have.

APPENDIX II.

FLORIDA RESEARCH CENTER, INC.

Dear Colleague:

The Florida Research Center, Inc. is currently conducting a study of the processes of administrative/faculty desegregation and integration in a sample of colleges and universities in the South. We have completed the mailed survey portion of our study and are entering the final stages of data gathering. Interviews have been scheduled with a small sample of faculty, administrators, and governing board members at many of the selected institutions. Our aim is to augment and enhance our survey findings with insights from knowledgable persons such as yourself. Therefore, we would like to take this opportunity to request an interview with you which will not last more than one hour.

In order that you may have an idea of the kind of information we will be seeking in these interviews, we have listed below some of the major topics we hope to discuss with you. The specific topics include:

1. What do you consider the historical mission of this institution to be? In what way do the goals of desegregation and integration correlate or conflict with its historical mission? How have economic and social forces affected the desegregation and integration processes?

2. Is there a specific affirmative action/equal employment opportunity (AA/EEO) program at this institution? If yes, how is the AA/EEO program structured? What are its short range and ultimate goals? What has been the impact of the AA/EEO program at your institution?

3. In general terms, what has been the process of administrative and faculty desegregation at this institution? Is it a recent phenomenon or a long standing tradition? How has the process progressed?

4. What is the relationship between the goals of this institution and your professional goals? Indeed, how do you view factors affecting promotions, opportunities for employment, job satisfaction, allocation of resources to participate in research related activities, attending professional meetings, etc.?

226 West Pensacola Street / Suite 200 / Tallahassee, Florida 32301 / (904) 224-1130

We hope that you will bring forcefully to our attention any insights and documents which you believe will help us understand the dynamics of racial desegregation and integration at your institution. Of course, our discussion will be treated as confidential. Any statements will be reported within the contextual framework of the discussion. All findings will be reported in a professional manner without reference to individuals, institutions, or systems.

We will be visiting your campus on
Please take a minute to sign the enclosed form and mail it to us as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Jeffrey M. Jacques
Project Director

Robert L. Hall

Robert L. Hall
Associate Project Director

JMJ/RLH/cv

Enclosure

APPENDIX III.

IMPORTANCE OF "AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONTINUE MY EDUCATION AT A NEARBY UNIVERSITY" BY INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION AND MAJORITY/ MINORITY STATUS

SUMMARY STATISTIC	F	df	Prob/ETA^2
Total $\bar{X}$=1.54 SD=1.00 (N=327)			
Traditionally Black $\bar{X}$=1.59 SD=1.02 (N=109)	1.00	1,325	.319/.003
Traditionally White $\bar{X}$=1.48 SD= .98 (N=158)			
Majority Status $\bar{X}$=1.65 SD=1.06 (N=132)	5.64	3,306	.001/.052
Minority Status $\bar{X}$=1.41 SD= .86 (N= 34)			
Majority Status $\bar{X}$=1.38 SD= .89 (N=125)			
Minority Status $\bar{X}$=2.32 SD=1.29 (N= 19)			

Note: Decreasing counts reflect exclusion of other minority respondents.

PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE OF "EMPLOYMENT OF SPOUSE/OTHER SIGNIFICANT PERSON IN THE GEOGRAPHIC REGION" BY INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION AND MAJORITY/ MINORITY STATUS

SUMMARY STATISTIC	F	df	Prob/ETA^2
Total $\bar{X}$=1.80 SD=1.15 (N=322)			
Traditionally Black $\bar{X}$=1.93 SD=1.20	4.34	1,320	.038/.013
Traditionally White $\bar{X}$=1.66 SD=1.08			
Majority Status $\bar{X}$=1.93 SD=1.21 (N=128)	3.34	3,301	.020/.032
Minority Status $\bar{X}$=1.97 SD=1.19 (N= 34)			
Majority Status $\bar{X}$=1.61 SD=1.04 (N=124)			
Minority Status $\bar{X}$=2.37 SD=1.34 (N= 19)			

Note: Decreasing counts reflect exclusion of other minority respondents.

PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE OF "AN OPPORTUNITY TO WORK IN MY HOME TOWN" BY INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION AND MAJORITY/MINORITY STATUS

SUMMARY STATISTIC	F	df	Prob/ETA^2
Total $\bar{X}$=1.59 SD=1.04 (N=325)			
Traditionally Black $\bar{X}$=1.73 SD=1.13	6.55	1,323	.011/.020
Traditionally White $\bar{X}$=1.44 SD= .93			
Majority Status $\bar{X}$=1.75 SD=1.16 (N=130)	1.80	3,304	.147/.018
Minority Status $\bar{X}$=1.65 SD=1.04 (N= 34)			
Majority Status $\bar{X}$=1.45 SD= .93 (N=125)			
Minority Status $\bar{X}$=1.63 SD=1.16 (N= 19)			

Note: Decreasing counts reflect exclusion of other minority respondents.

PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE OF "AN OPPORTUNITY TO WORK IN WITH A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK OR WHITE STUDENT BODY" BY INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION AND MAJORITY/MINORITY STATUS

SUMMARY STATISTIC	F	df	Prob/ETA^2
Total $\bar{X}$=1.81 SD=1.13 (N=328)			
Traditionally Black $\bar{X}$=2.30 SD=121 (N=168)	79.58	1,321	.001/.196
Traditionally White $\bar{X}$=1.29 SD= .77 (N=160)			
Majority Status $\bar{X}$=2.44 SD-1.25 (N=131)	32.08	3,306	.001/.239
Minority Status $\bar{X}$=1.79 SD= .84 (N= 34)			
Majority Status $\bar{X}$=1.21 SD= .65 (N=126)			
Minority Status $\bar{X}$=1.89 SD=1.20 (N= 19)			

Note: Decreasing counts reflect exclusion of other minority respondents.

PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE OF "THE TIGHTNESS OF THE JOB MARKET" BY INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION AND MAJORITY/MINORITY STATUS

SUMMARY STATISTIC	F	df	Prob/ETA^2
Total $\bar{X}$=1.86 SD=1.04 (N=326)			
Traditionally Black $\bar{X}$=1.72 SD= .95 (N=168)	6.49	1,324	.011/.020
Traditionally White $\bar{X}$=2.01 SD=1.12 (N=158)			
Majority Status $\bar{X}$=1.66 SD= .91 (N=131)	3.38	3,306	.019/.032
Minority Status $\bar{X}$=2.03 SD=1.06 (N= 34)			
Majority Status $\bar{X}$=2.04 SD=1.12 (N=126)			
Minority Status $\bar{X}$=2.00 SD=1.16 (N= 19)			

Note: Decreasing counts reflect exclusion of other minority respondents.

IMPORTANCE OF "AN OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH A RACIALLY INTEGRATED FACULTY" BY INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION AND MAJORITY/MINORITY STATUS

SUMMARY STATISTIC	F	df	Prob/ETA^2
Total $\bar{X}$=1.65 SD= .92 (N=327)			
Traditionally Black $\bar{X}$=1.83 SD= .97 (N=169)	15.37	1,325	.001/.045
Traditionally White $\bar{X}$=1.44 SD= .83 (N=158)			
Majority Status $\bar{X}$=1.77 SD= .99 (N=131)	9.20	3,308	.001/.083
Minority Status $\bar{X}$=2.09 SD= .89 (N= 35)			
Majority Status $\bar{X}$=1.38 SD= .76 (N=124)			
Minority Status $\bar{X}$=2.16 SD=1.12 (N= 19)			

Note: Decreasing counts reflect exclusion of other minority respondents.

PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE OF "OPPORTUNITY TO WORK IN MY CHOSEN FIELD"
BY INSTITUTIONAL TRADITION AND MAJORITY/MINORITY STATUS

SUMMARY STATISTIC	F	df	Prob/ETA^2
Total $\bar{X}$=3.32 SD= .85 (N=328)			
Traditionally Black $\bar{X}$=3.38 SD= .83 (N=168)	1.77	1,326	.184/.005
Traditionally White $\bar{X}$=3.23 SD= .86 (N=160)			
Majority Status $\bar{X}$=3.38 SD= .85 (N=131)	1.14	3,310	.335/.011
Minority Status $\bar{X}$=3.50 SD= .66 (N= 34)			
Majority Status $\bar{X}$=3.30 SD= .84 (N=127)			
Minority Status $\bar{X}$=3.11 SD= .87 (N= 19)			

Note: Decreasing counts reflect exclusion of other minority respondents.